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JULIUS W HOBSON JR

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WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE YOUR CONTACTING STEPHEN J. WEXLER,  
ESQ., AT 202-225-5375 (COLLECT) AS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF TESTIFYING  
BEFORE THE SPECIAL SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES  
ON TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1968, ON PROPOSED LEGISLATION ~~TO~~ ESTABLISH  
A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION TO STUDY NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE  
CLAIBORNE PELL CHAIRMAN SENATE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ~~ON~~ ARTS  
AND HUMANITIES

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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

November 26, 1968

Mr. Julius Hobson  
300 M Street, S.W.  
Washington, D. C. 20024

Dear Mr. Hobson:

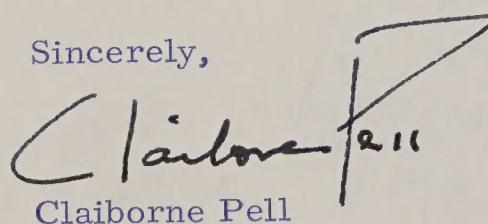
Enclosed are two copies of the hearing on S. 2979, a bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture. I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for the important and useful contribution which you made to our study of the measure.

Although passed by the House of Representatives and favorably reported on by the Subcommittee on the Arts and the Humanities, the bill was not acted upon by the Senate prior to adjournment. It is not known at this time what action will be taken in the next Congress.

In any event I would again like to thank you and trust you will call upon me if I can ever be of assistance.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,



Claiborne Pell

Enclosures



# COMMISSION ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE

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## HEARING BEFORE THE SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE UNITED STATES SENATE NINETIETH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION ON **S. 2979**

A BILL TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE; TO CONDUCT A STUDY OF ALL PROPOSALS TO RESEARCH, DOCUMENT, COMPILE, PRESERVE, AND DISSEMINATE DATA ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE; TO RECOMMEND SUCH LEGISLATIVE ENACTMENTS AS MAY BE REQUIRED TO PROVIDE FOR THE INTEGRATION OF SUCH DATA INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN EDUCATION AND LIFE; AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

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JULY 23, 1968

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Printed for the use of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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WASHINGTON : 1968

U.S. SENATE  
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90TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**S. 2979**

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 15, 1968

Mr. SCOTT (for himself, Mr. BROOKE, Mr. CASE, and Mr. JAVITS) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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**A BILL**

To establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture; to conduct a study of all proposals to research, document, compile, preserve, and disseminate data on Negro history and culture; to recommend such legislative enactments as may be required to provide for the integration of such data into the mainstream of American education and life; and for other purposes.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       *That (a) there is hereby established a Commission to be*  
4       *known as the Commission on Negro History and Culture*  
5       *(hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"). The Com-*  
6       *mission shall be composed of eleven members, appointed by*

1 the President from persons who are authorities on Negro  
2 history and culture.

3 (b) The President shall designate one of the members  
4 of the Commission as Chairman, and one as Vice Chairman.

5 Six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

6 (c) Members of the Commission shall each be entitled  
7 to receive \$100 per diem when engaged in the performance  
8 of the duties vested in the Commission, including travel time;  
9 and while so engaged when away from their home or regular  
10 place of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, in-  
11 cluding per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by sec-  
12 tion 5703 (b) of title 5, United States Code, for persons in  
13 Government service employed intermittently.

14 (d) The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chair-  
15 man or at the call of a majority of the members thereof.

16 SEC. 2. (a) The Commission shall have the power to  
17 appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel, as it  
18 deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of title 5,  
19 United States Code, governing appointments in the competi-  
20 tive service, and the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter  
21 III of chapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and  
22 General Schedule pay rates.

23 (b) The Commission may procure, in accordance with  
24 the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code,  
25 the temporary or intermittent services of experts or con-

1 sultants. Persons so employed shall receive compensation  
2 at a rate to be fixed by the Commission, but not in excess  
3 of \$75 per diem, including travel time. While away from  
4 his home or regular place of business in the performance  
5 of services for the Commission, any such person may be  
6 allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of sub-  
7 sistence, as authorized by section 5703 (b) of title 5, United  
8 States Code, for persons in the Government service employed  
9 intermittently.

10 SEC. 3. The Commission shall conduct a study of all  
11 proposals to create a better understanding and knowledge of  
12 Negro history and culture and shall make such recommenda-  
13 tions to the President and to the Congress with respect to  
14 legislative enactments which it deems appropriate to carry  
15 out such proposals. Such study shall include consideration  
16 of the following:

17 (1) The steps necessary for research, collection, and  
18 the preservation of historical materials heretofore uncollected  
19 dealing with Negro history and culture.

20 (2) The steps necessary to compile and catalog  
21 existing materials.

22 (3) Examination of the possibilities of the establishment  
23 of a Museum of Negro History and Culture or a Center of  
24 Negro History and Culture.

1        (4) Consideration where such a museum or center  
2 should be located, whether it should be independent or a  
3 part of an existing establishment, and how it should be  
4 financed.

5        (5) Consideration of possible methods of disseminating  
6 such data so that the information can be best integrated into  
7 the mainstream of American education and life.

8        SEC. 4. The Commission shall submit a comprehensive  
9 report of its findings and recommendations to the President  
10 and to the Congress not later than twelve months after the  
11 date of enactment of this Act. The Commission shall cease to  
12 exist thirty days after such report is submitted.

THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS,  
Washington, D.C., April 1, 1968.

Hon. LISTER HILL,  
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HILL: This is in answer to your recent request for the Library's views on S. 2979, a bill to provide for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture. The Library of Congress, as you know, is the repository of one of the nation's most significant collections of books and manuscripts relating to Negro history and culture. I favor the establishment of such a Commission to study means to further insure that this important segment of our Nation's history is preserved for posterity as well as to emphasize the importance of Negro history and culture on the American scene. If your Committee desires additional information, please let me know.

I am enclosing a report prepared by the Library's Manuscript Division on S. 2979.

Sincerely yours,

L. QUINCY MUMFORD,  
*Librarian of Congress.*

Enclosure.

A REPORT ON S. 2979, TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE

[Prepared by the Staff of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress]

The subject of Negro history is not being neglected at present by libraries and other research institutions. On the contrary, a considerable effort is going into the collection of research materials for the study of Negro life. These materials are the objects of active scholarly interest, from which a number of specialized studies may be expected, leading inevitably toward sound general history. At the Library of Congress, for example, the records of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are among the most actively studied manuscript materials in its custody.

The collection of such materials and their preparation for use are highly professional activities. Existing institutions capable of performing these activities should be strengthened. Such a course of action is preferable to the establishment of new institutions.

Although a considerable amount of collection and research in the area of Negro history and culture is underway, the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture, as proposed in S. 2979, may serve to highlight problems and dramatize possible remedies. The following commentary takes up each of the responsibilities to be assigned to the proposed Commission:

(1) The steps necessary for research, collection, and the preservation of historical materials heretofore uncollected dealing with Negro history and culture.

*Comment.*—The existence of major collections for Negro history at Howard University, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and elsewhere indicates progress. There are, nevertheless, inherent problems in the collection of materials. The Library of Congress, for example, along with other research institutions, seeks manuscript materials of individuals and organizations that are of permanent historical significance. But libraries cannot, of course, command the total cooperation that would insure that all such materials will be deposited in the proper repository. Collecting manuscripts in the private sector (as opposed to state and federal records that are generally controlled by statutory provision) depends on such variables as the good will and sense of history of those in legal possession of the materials. A Commission, as provided in the Bill, might encourage private owners to place their collections in public or private institutions capable of properly administering them. Once in a suitable repository, these collections will eventually fulfill their proper historical function.

(2) The steps necessary to compile and catalog existing materials.

*Comment.*—As pointed out by one of the panelists at the Conference on Negro History and Culture held in the Rayburn House Office Building on February 15, several hundred repositories have collections important for Negro history. Every reasonable effort is at present being made to encourage these repositories to catalog and otherwise describe these collections in order that they may be entered in the Library of Congress' *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (NUCMC), 5 volumes to date, containing descriptions of 18,417 manuscript collections in 616 repositories. Approximately 2,000 entries are accumulated each

year, and a new volume is added. All the descriptions of collections appearing in this book catalog are thoroughly indexed with respect to names and subjects, as well as by repository. In spite of this impressive record, there is much that remains to be done before this national inventory of manuscript collections can be said to be current. If a Commission is established, as proposed in S. 2979, one useful service it might perform is to encourage full and reliable reports to NUCMC. The preparation of specialized guides and bibliographies pertaining to existing materials should also be forwarded. The National Archives has been gathering data for publication concerning manuscript collections for the study of Africa.

(3) Examination of the possibilities of the establishment of a Museum of Negro History and Culture or a Center of Negro History and Culture.

(4) Consideration where such a museum or center should be located, whether it should be independent or a part of an existing establishment, and how it should be financed.

*Comment.*—3 and 4. The introductory remarks indicate that existing institutions with a proven capability of performing highly professional activities should be strengthened.

(5) Consideration of possible methods of disseminating such data so that the information can be best integrated into the mainstream of American education and life.

*Comment.*—Because of their unique character, and because they have, or should have, a unity and integrity of their own, manuscript collections can never be disseminated, nor should they ever be dispersed. Although they are often used in exhibits, the main purpose of historical manuscripts is to provide the raw material for informed, professional historical research. The need for a wide dissemination of materials for this purpose can readily be served by means of photocopying. The Presidential Papers Program in the Library of Congress, at the present time, has completed the filming of 17 of its 23 collections of the papers of the Presidents, and work on the remaining collections is well advanced. Distribution of these films through sale and interlibrary loan has been nationwide, and, in fact, worldwide. The effects of this program are certainly beginning to be reflected in the histories being written today. If established, a Commission, therefore may wish to find means of supporting a broad program of filming and distributing microfilm copies of the more significant collections having a bearing on Negro history and culture.

**Senator PELL.** We have quite a list of witnesses who, I believe, represent most of the spectrum of thought and opinion on this subject and its importance. It is my hope that this hearing record will become a useful document to further kindle the interest of our Nation in a lost portion of its rich heritage. I announced this hearing with a statement which spoke about the work of the Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and ask that at this point a copy of my statement, given on the floor of the Senate a few days ago, be inserted in the record at this point.

(The statement referred to follows:)

[From the Congressional Record, July 19, 1968]

#### SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES—NOTICE OF HEARINGS

**Mr. PELL.** Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare will hold hearings on S. 2979, introduced by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. Scott], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Brooke], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. Case], and the Senator from New York [Mr. Javits]. The bill would establish a Presidential Commission on Negro History and Culture which will study the means by which all Americans can come to a better understanding of the contribution of the Negro to American life; in addition, it would recommend ways for Federal and private agencies to encourage and support creation of new knowledge and dissemination of existing knowledge of Negro history and culture.

I believe that the purpose of the proposed legislation is wholly laudable and long overdue. As Prof. C. Eric Lincoln of Union Theological Seminary has noted:

“People who are proud of their history are proud of themselves. They feel that they belong. Negroes have not been included in American history.”

The result of this exclusion from history is that Negro high school students can ask such questions as “Why doesn’t the Negro have a country to call his own?”

Textbooks, teachers, newspapers, and the popular media have not made the American Negro aware that this is their country to which they have made important historical and cultural contributions. Indeed, the extent of this lack of knowledge is demonstrated by the fact that the Xerox Co. has undertaken to dramatize our ignorance of the Negro in America's past by sponsoring a series of seven national programs by CBS News on "The Negro in America."

But it is not just to give Negroes pride that the country needs a better understanding of Negro history and culture. There are too many white Americans, young and old, who have the notion that they and their white forebears made this country. Well, Mr. President, they had some help—help which some find it comfortable to forget and easy to ignore. Until white Americans have a better understanding of the factual, unequivocal, demonstrated and undeniable contribution to American life of American citizens who happen to be black, the country will continue to be enmeshed by racial tension.

I have already requested a number of Federal agencies to report on their existing activities which disseminate knowledge of Negro history and culture and to indicate ways in which such activities could be expanded.

It is gratifying to note that there are already fine programs now being conducted. And I am especially proud of the record already made by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Although a relatively new agency, the Endowment, whose budget this body cut to a token level 2 weeks ago, has been helping to create better understanding between white and Negro citizens for 2 years.

In fiscal 1967 and 1968 the Endowment spent just under \$1 million in grants aimed at the disadvantaged, primarily the Negro, of which approximately \$300,000 was spent directly upon dissemination of new and existing knowledge about Negro history and culture.

With endowment support, seven colleges and universities will hold workshops for college faculty from all over the Nation on the materials available for courses on Negro history, literature, and culture. With endowment support, another university is offering further education in Negro history to high school teachers, and another is offering longer term instruction for college faculty in the teaching of courses in Negro culture. Another college, with endowment support, is completing a slide collection in African art which will be a useful resource in the broad subject of the Negro heritage. With endowment support an association of 12 colleges will identify teaching resources for courses in Negro culture. Also with endowment support, an educational television station will disseminate a series of programs on the Negro's search for identity through art. Cooperation between a major State university and the newspapers in that State, one objective of which is to provide expert knowledge on Negro culture, is the purpose of a recent endowment grant. The endowment has also helped expand a Museum of African Art and History less than four blocks from this Chamber; as a result of the endowment grant, 10 times the amount of the grant was contributed to the museum by private foundations and others.

Other endowment grants have gone for research into Negro history and culture—to create new knowledge of the Negro past and present. These activities of the endowment have not been aimed at creating a false, speedy poultice for our racial problems; they have been aimed at exercising with responsibility the mandate the Congress gave it to support the creation of new and dissemination of existing knowledge about the humanities in the national interest.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article recently published in the New York Times about some of the endowment's grants.

It is the subcommittee's intent to conduct hearings on S. 2979 next Tuesday, July 23, 1968, in the Labor and Public Welfare Committee hearing room.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"A \$70,000 GRANT FOR NEGRO STUDY—WORKSHOPS TO BE CONDUCTED IN SUMMER AT  
SEVEN COLLEGES

"(By Nan Robertson)

"WASHINGTON, July 16.—In response to rapidly growing interest in Negro history and culture, the National Endowment for the Humanities is awarding \$70,000 to seven colleges for summer workshops on the topic.

"Participants will be teachers from colleges and universities across the Nation.

"The institutions chosen for the grants are particularly well equipped by faculty expertise and source materials on Negro history and culture to offer the workshops, according to the endowment group.

"The workshops will introduce published, unpublished and graphic materials that will enable participants 'to enrich their instruction in the heritage of the American Negro and of his increasingly prominent contributions to American life and culture,' it was announced.

"Barnaby Keeney, chairman of the endowment, observed today he hoped that the workshops would produce in the long term 'a more balanced view of American history' than has been true before, with the roles of the black man often ignored or distorted.

"Mr. Keeney added that there was also 'real danger' that Negro history might become 'a separatist subject.'

"The workshops will be held in July and August.

"Each institution will receive up to \$10,000 to defray costs not covered by workshop registration fees. The institutions participating, their workshop dates, directors and special focuses are, as follows:

"Boston University, Boston, Mass., Aug. 5-17—Dr. Hohn Cartwright, Afro-American Coordinating Center, a workshop stressing the inclusion of material on the Afro-American in sociology courses.

"Cazenovia College, Cazenovia, N.Y., Aug. 18-24—Prof. Linoel R. Sharp, department of languages and literatures, a program oriented to the needs of two-year college faculty members and emphasizing the Negro in American literature.

"Duke University, Durham, N.C., Aug. 18-24—Prof. Richard L. Watson, Jr., department of history, a workshop for those teaching courses on the history of the American Negro.

"Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., Aug. 26-31—Dean George N. Redd, a workshop surveying publications and curriculums on the Negro in America.

"Howard University, Washington, D.C., July 22-26—Mrs. Dorothy Porter, librarian of the Negro Collection, a workshop for librarians stressing bibliography and methods of improving college library collections on the Negro.

"Morgan State University, Baltimore, Md., Aug. 5-9—Dr. Roland C. McConnell, department of history, a workshop on resource materials relevant to American Negro history.

"Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., Aug. 12-16—Dr. E. C. Harrison, vice president for academic affairs, a conference on literature, criticism and visual arts in the context of American Negro.

"Faculty members and other academic personnel interested in attending a workshop may inquire directly to the college or university concerned."

SENATOR PELL. Our first scheduled witness is the principal sponsor of the bill, Senator Scott.

SENATOR SCOTT, you are most welcome, and would you proceed, please?

#### STATEMENT OF HON. HUGH SCOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

SENATOR SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do appreciate your courtesy in inviting me to appear to testify, and I know of your own very deep and earnest and cultivated interest in history generally and in this specific subject, which is the core, or the center perhaps I should say, of today's interest.

The great accomplishments of American history are proudly recited in stories, poems, songs, and textbooks. The curious and disturbing fact is, however, that to the vast majority of Americans, both white and black, the heroes of that history are almost all white. Most of our schools, and the history books in our libraries, overlook or ignore the contributions of Negroes to our American culture and civilization.

This paucity of awareness of black America's enrichment of our Nation is the indirect cause of much of the prejudice aimed at the black minority.

It is a problem for white America, but a more serious problem for Negroes. Because they are unaware of their own heritage, many Negroes have inadvertently accepted the white majority's stereotyped opinion of Negroes.

The almost total absence of awareness of the Negro as a valuable contributor to our society—something approaching an inadvertent conspiracy—has gone on for so long that we will have to undertake a very considerable effort to make up for several hundred years of neglect.

My bill, under consideration today, to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture, would help to uncover America's Negro history, which for so long has been buried beneath ignorance and indifference.

When America looks into the mirror she sees a distorted image. She has not yet recognized that the true image is a composite of Europeans, Africans, Asians, American Indians, South and Central Americans.

The African culture heritage of the United States, from coffee and chocolate to the latest teenage dance steps, has been fully assimilated into the American scene, and is taken totally for granted.

America today is fascinated by the newest advances in heart surgery. But how many Americans know that the first successful open-heart surgery was performed by a Pennsylvania-born Negro doctor in the last century? I may add that that was Dr. Daniel Hale Williams.

Every schoolboy thrills to the adventure of Commander Peary's expedition to the North Pole. But they do not learn that the first man to actually reach the North Pole was a Negro member of the expedition. As, of course, you know, Mr. Chairman, that was Mr. Matt Henson.

Americans followed the progress of World War II daily in their newspapers and on the radio, but few knew that the man who organized the blood bank system which saved the lives of American and allied servicemen was a Negro, Dr. Charles Drew.

Senator PELL. May I interrupt for one moment, please?

Senator SCOTT. Certainly.

Senator PELL. This has some parenthetical interest in connection with the blood bank: I recall that during World War II, although Dr. Drew organized them, these blood banks segregated the blood. Black people could only get black blood and white people could only get white blood. A black minister required some blood but there was none available from the segregated blood bank. When this became known I was one of two officers who insisted on going down and giving our blood to Freedmen's Hospital; an action which I hope helped to break that pattern and habit.

Senator SCOTT. I appreciate the comment. I remember the situation. I remember the tragedy and the needless misunderstanding which led to that newspaper controversy at the time. Incidentally, although Italy was on the other side in World War II, it is also parenthetically of interest that the discovery of blood plasma and the method of shipping blood plasma which made possible the saving of many lives in the Ryukyu Islands and Okinawa assaults was a famous Italian-American physician in Philadelphia.

And I may add, too, parenthetically speaking of Negro history and culture, that in today's Washington Post, is recited the experience at the preopening sessions of the library for the new Federal City College, where I am glad to say it will be possible for persons to be admitted for liberal arts, to pursue a liberal arts course, upon the presentation of

a high school diploma. When the library was opened, it was stocked with paperbacks which can be kept and retained as long as the borrower wishes. Fifty copies of Negro history were installed there, and they were the first books to be removed, and every one of them now is in the hands of a reader. I should like to insert in the record at this point a copy of the article.

Senator PELL. Without objection it is ordered printed in the record. (The article referred to follows:)

[From the Washington Post, July 24, 1968]

**CITY COLLEGE'S PAPERBACK LIBRARY FEATURES NEGRO-ORIENTED BOOKS**

(By J. W. Anderson)

Federal City College's first students thumbed through its honor-system library last week. The rows of paperback books stood on open shelves in a busy corridor.

Some of the youngsters walked off with a book or two under their arms. That was what the college had hoped they would do.

Librarians reported a heavy demand for "The Autobiography of Malcolm X."

One purpose of this unorthodox library is to put as many books as possible into students' hands.

Another purpose is to show college officials, as they organize courses, where the students' interests lie.

Although the college does not formally open until September, it has already enrolled 83 students for a six-week, no-credit summer institute in which next year's courses are being designed.

The institute is a laboratory for the new ideas that the college plans to put in gear when as many as 2,400 students arrive next fall. The open library illustrates the process.

The library, using paperbacks to cut costs, is encouraging students to take as many books as they want for as long as they want.

"This kind of borrowing privilege is usually accorded only to faculty, elsewhere," said one librarian, William E. Hinchliff. As fast as a book is signed out, the college will replace it on the open shelf.

(The college library will also have a collection of 50,000 hardbound books under much tighter restriction.)

Students have so far shown the greatest interest in Negro history and culture, reported Ulysses Cameron, another librarian. He put 50 titles on the shelves Thursday, he said, and they were all gone by the end of the day.

Another book that goes very quickly, he said, is Ralph Ellison's "The Invisible Man."

The Federal City College library intends to make a specialty of Negro literature, Hinchliff said, and will publish scholarly bibliographies.

Other subjects that are heavily in demand, the librarians added, are modern drama and the social sciences.

Federal City College, Washington's first public liberal arts college, has no admissions requirement but a high school diploma.

Senator SCOTT. Our negligence of the Negro role in American history is both the cause and the effect of prejudice today. The Negro and his fellow Americans must share full knowledge of their common past and their common goals to dispel the myths which foster hatred and separatism.

Historians tell me that research should be done on:

Meta V. W. Fuller, a well-known Negro sculptress who lived in Philadelphia during the early 1900's.

Benjamin Banneker, a respected mathematician and scientist who served on the commission of three that planned the District of Columbia.

The Negro inventors who were responsible for such inventions as a paper-bag machine, an evaporation pan for sugar refining—which revolutionized the sugar refining industry in 1846—the first working model of a steam engine, and the shoe last which made possible the mass production of shoes.

Of course, we are all familiar with the remarkable research of such men as Dr. George Washington Carver in Alabama.

The deeds of black men in battle, such as Salem Poor, a Negro cited for his part in the Battle of Bunker Hill, and other heroes, including the brave black Americans fighting today in Vietnam.

All Americans, both white and black, must become aware of the black heroes of science and exploration, heretofore unsung. They must understand Negro contributions to religious thought in America.

They must look anew at Negro contributions to the performing arts, and to competitive sports.

They must realize that the Negro influence has been so pervasive in activities that are so deeply entrenched in our lives that society has been molded almost without realizing it by Negroes of great achievement.

It is for these reasons that I hope that through the work of such a Commission on Negro History and Culture the true image of America will come into clear focus, and credit and respect will be given where it is due.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I urge favorable consideration of my bill to establish the Commission on Negro History and Culture.

I would also ask the permission of the chairman to include certain relevant material, including copies of the House report on H.R. 12962 and the bill, the companion to S. 2979, which was introduced by Representative Scheuer and was reported to the House from the House Education and Labor Committee. It is our understanding it will be taken up on a day of House suspension of the rules, possibly in September. While there is some modest variance in the bill, it is not extensive.

I would also ask the Chair's permission to include in the record a letter from me to Peter McCollough, president of the Xerox Corp., thanking them for the television series, "Of Black America," together with the transcripts of the first three programs, and comment from the press. I should also like to insert in the record other relevant material.

Senator PELL. Without objection, all these documents will be placed in the record.

(The documents referred to follow:)

## Union Calendar No. 685

90TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

## H. R. 12962

[Report No. 1679]

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 18, 1967

Mr. SCHEUER (for himself, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. CO-HELAN, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. MADDEN, Mr. NIX, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. REUSS, Mr. ROYBAL, and Mr. RYAN) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

JULY 10, 1968

Reported with an amendment, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through]

## A BILL

To provide for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
 2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
 3       *That (a) there is hereby established a Commission to be*  
 4       *known as the Commission on Negro History and Culture*  
 5       *(hereinafter referred to as the "Commission"). The Com-*  
 6       *mission shall be composed of eleven members, appointed by*  
 7       *the President from persons who are authorities on Negro*  
 8       *history and culture.*

1        (b) The President shall designate one of the members  
2 of the Commission as Chairman, and one as Vice Chairman.  
3 Six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

4        (c) Members of the Commission shall each be entitled  
5 to receive \$100 per diem when engaged in the performance  
6 of the duties vested in the Commission, including traveltimes;  
7 and while so engaged when away from their home or regular  
8 place of business, they may be allowed travel expenses, in-  
9 cluding per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by sec-  
10 tion 5703 (b) of title 5, United States Code, for persons in  
11 Government service employed intermittently.

12        (d) The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chair-  
13 man or at the call of a majority of the members thereof.

14        SEC. 2. (a) The Commission shall have the power to  
15 appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel, as it  
16 deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of title 5,  
17 United States Code, governing appointments in the competi-  
18 tive service, and the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter  
19 III of chapter 53 of such title, relating to classification and  
20 General Schedule pay rates.

21        (b) The Commission may procure, in accordance with  
22 the provisions of section 3109 of title 5, United States Code,  
23 the temporary or intermittent services of experts or con-  
24 sultants. Persons so employed shall receive compensation  
25 at a rate to be fixed by the Commission, but not in excess

1 of \$75 per diem, including travelttime. While away from  
2 his home or regular place of business in the performance  
3 of services for the Commission, any such person may be  
4 allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of sub-  
5 sistence, as authorized by section 5703 (b) of title 5, United  
6 States Code, for persons in the Government service employed  
7 intermittently.

8 SEC. 3. The Commission shall conduct a study of all  
9 proposals to create a better understanding and knowledge of  
10 Negro history and culture and shall make a recommenda-  
11 tion to the President and to the Congress with respect to  
12 the legislative enactments which would be necessary to carry  
13 out such proposals. Such study shall include consideration  
14 of the following:

15 (1) The steps necessary to unearthing, preserving,  
16 and collecting historical materials dealing with Negro  
17 history and culture.

18 (2) What can be done to preserve and catalog  
19 existing materials.

20 (3) Examine the possibilities of the establishment  
21 of a Museum of Negro History and Culture or a Center  
22 of Negro History and Culture.

23 (4) Consider where such a museum or center  
24 should be located, whether it should be independent or

1 a part of an existing establishment, and how it should  
2 be financed.

3 (5) Consider the methods of disseminating such  
4 materials so that the information can be best integrated  
5 into the mainstream of American education and life.

6 SEC. 4. The Commission shall submit a comprehensive  
7 report of its findings and recommendations to the President  
8 and to the Congress not later than twelve months after the  
9 date of enactment of this Act. The Commission shall cease  
10 to exist thirty days after such report is submitted.

PROVIDING FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSION ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE

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JULY 10, 1968.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Mr. SCHEUER, from the Committee on Education and Labor,  
 submitted the following

**R E P O R T**

[To accompany H.R. 12962]

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred bill (H.R. 12962) to provide for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon and recommends that the bill as amended do pass.

The amendment is as follows:

Page 3, line 13, after "proposals." delete language on page 3 and page 4 down to "life." on line 5.

**PURPOSE OF THE LEGISLATION**

The purpose of H.R. 12962 is to create a Commission which would study all aspects of the problems of preserving, collecting, and integrating evidence of the Negro past into the mainstream of American education and into our information media as well.

The essential goal of the Commission is to promote a better understanding of Negro contributions to American history and culture with the hope of developing a stronger sense of pride and identity within the Negro community and eradicating, within the white community, false stereotypes which retard race relations.

The Commission will study the best means of ending the neglect by historians and the news media of the contributions of Negroes to American history and of Negro culture to American society and it will examine the best methods of establishing appropriate programs for providing a more balanced portrayal of Negro history and culture in school textbooks and curriculum as well as in radio, television, and press media.

Opportunities for encouraging and assisting organizations and institutions already involved in the study of Negro history and culture will be examined. Particular attention will be paid to protecting grassroot organizations throughout the country that are already engaged in Afro-American studies and programs.

Appointed by the President, the Commission shall be composed of 11 members to be selected from leading authorities in Negro history and culture, education experts in American history and in textbooks and curriculum development and authorities in the field of television, radio, and press. One of the members shall be designated as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman.

At the end of a year's inquiry, the Commission would recommend to the President how best the Negro heritage and Negro contributions to American society can best be integrated into American life.

#### COMMITTEE ACTION

The Select Subcommittee on Labor held hearings on H.R. 12962 on March 18, 1968, in New York. Only one of the nine witnesses who testified spoke against the bill. The witnesses supporting the bill were Dr. John Davis (American Society of African Culture), Mr. Roy Innis (CORE), Mr. James Baldwin, accompanied by Mrs. Betty Shadazz, Mr. John Harmon (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History), Mr. Jackie Robinson (Governor Rockefeller's staff), Mr. John W. Davis (NAACP), Dr. Charles Wesley (Association for the Study of Negro Life and History). Testifying against the bill was Dr. Charles Wright (International Afro-American Museum in Detroit).

Highlights of the testimony included:

James Baldwin after noting the absence of black heroes and successful black people: "The result is that I really didn't believe at the time I was 7 the Pledge of Allegiance, and no black boy I knew did, either. \* \* \* I didn't believe it because the country didn't believe it. I didn't believe it because you didn't believe it."

Jackie Robinson: "I support what you are trying to do. I think it's high time that the Congress understood the tremendous frustrations that the young Negro has today, frustrations I think we felt many years ago. Even though we understand this frustration, we feel strongly that we cannot condone the riots in the streets \* \* \* we feel that a program such as you are starting here can help these youngsters to tell children that we care. For too long we have been making promises, and our youngsters take a look at them, and for a while they believe, and then they don't believe. \* \* \* Some of these Black Power guys \* \* \* are ready to fall either way. They speak awfully hard, but I think most of them are just looking for the opportunity \* \* \* to be recognized for abilities."

Roy Innis: "Any society attempts to communicate to the young its history and culture. This has been denied the black people and that explains some of the problems we have had in terms of achievements of black people. There is an inability to relate themselves back to anything else \* \* \* My heroes as a kid were Andy Jackson and George Washington. They might be great, but I would prefer to have more heroes that I can see myself in."

Dr. Charles Wright: "There is a new mood in the black communities, one of self-determination and self-expression and this mood must be heard and dealt with. This is what Congressman Powell meant when he said that the initiative should come from within the community and not from outside."

The subcommittee voted, on May 30, 1968, to report H.R. 12962 to the full committee, with the recommendations that the bill be approved by the full Committee on Education and Labor. The bill as amended was reported unanimously and with bipartisan support.

#### SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

1(a) Establishes a Commission on Negro History and Culture, to be composed of 11 persons, appointed by the President from authorities on Negro history and culture.

1(b) The President is to designate a Chairman and Vice Chairman. Six Members may constitute a quorum of the Commission.

1(c) This section authorizes the customary per diem and travel reimbursement for members of the Commission, with per diem limited to \$100 a day.

1(d) Authorizes the Chairman, or a majority of the members to call Commission meetings.

2. Standard provisions authorizing hiring of a staff, and of consultants on a per diem basis.

3. This section sets forth the duties of the Commission, which shall be to "study proposals to create a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture," and to make legislative recommendations to the President and Congress with regard to this objective.

U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C., July 3, 1968.

Mr. PETER MCCOLLOUGH,  
President, Xerox Corp.,  
Rochester, N.Y.

DEAR MR. MCCOLLOUGH: Last night I watched the first program (Black History—Lost, Stolen or Strayed) in the seven part series "Of Black America" sponsored by Xerox Corporation, and want you to know I am deeply impressed with the educational and cultural value of such a series. This first program was of good quality and content. It graphically points out the adverse psychological effects of a dominating white society on a black minority. This country is now seeking a remedy to the effects of a century of distortion and neglect of the black minority.

I would like to call your attention to a bill which I recently introduced to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture. This Commission would study all proposals to research, document, compile, preserve, and disseminate data on Negro history and culture. It would recommend such legislative enactments as may be required to provide for the integration of such data into the mainstream of American education and life. Its recommendations may include the use of television as a broad method of dissemination of such data. I am gratified that television is already beginning to do this with the broadcast of your enlightened series.

I would very much like to have a copy of the transcript of yesterday's (Tuesday, July 2) program as well as those of the remaining six in the series for use in connection with my bill.

With my sincere commendation for the efforts of Xerox Corporation in this area of human relations, I am

Sincerely,

HUGH SCOTT,  
U.S. Senator.

CBS NEWS SPECIAL, OF BLACK AMERICA—"BLACK HISTORY: LOST, STOLEN, OR STRAYED", AS BROADCAST OVER THE CBS TELEVISION NETWORK, TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1968, 10-11 P.M., E.D.T.—WITH BILL COSBY

(Produced by: Andrew A. Rooney and Vern Diamond. Written by: Perry Wolff and Andrew A. Rooney. Executive Producer: Perry Wolff)

ANNOUNCER. CBS News presents Of Black America: "Black History: Lost, Stolen or Strayed"

(Children singing "Charlie Brown")

Mrs. BILLUPS (teacher). Great! Very good. All right. We'll go to lunch now and this afternoon we'll continue.

BILL COSBY (trying child's chair). No, I could never fit in that—never get in that at all. This is more like it.

Now, what's the whitest thing you know? Whiter than the driven snow, whiter than the whites of your eyes? Sugar. Non-integrated, non-black, sweet sugar. But you see there is a black man in your sugar.

His name is Norbert Rillieux. Norbert Rillieux in 1846 invented a vacuum pan that revolutionized the sugar refining industry. You have to dig to find that fact. I mean, it's not much history, but it's still history.

Now what do you stand in? In your shoes. Now, there's just you in your shoes, isn't there? Nope. See there's a black man standing in your oxfords with you. Sharing your sole—and your heel—is a man whose name is Jan Ernst Matzeliger. In 1863—this is a drawing by the kids—Matzeliger invented the machine that made mass-produced shoes possible. Now you have to dig around for that fact, too. And again, it's not much history, but it's history.

Am I coming in clear to California? I mean is this TV signal driving through a pass in the Sierra Nevada Mountains and slipping into San Francisco? O.K. Well, I want to thank you, Jim Beckwourth. Jim Beckwourth, out of St. Louis, hunter, trapper, and honorary chief of the Crow tribe of Indians. We had trouble finding you, Jim. Though you helped open the West, you didn't make the books.

Chicago—right here where the Wrigley Building is. Young fellow by the name of Jean Baptiste du Sable. Jean Baptiste. He founded you, Chicago, when he traded with the Indians. And of course, there it is right there. At that particular time it was called Eschikagon (or "stinking onion") by the Indians, and du Sable, he didn't even change the name at all.

Now you take the Lewis and Clark expedition here—right in there. You'll find a black man named York helping to open the West. Those men are trying to wash the black out of York. That's what you might call historically significant because a lot of people thing we ought to wash white—but we ain't gonna, you see.

Texas—coming to you, Texas. Right down the Chisholm Trail, right here. Right down there with 5,000 black cowboys who never made it to the Hollywood Western. Did you know that? In this same group, there was one black outlaw—his name was Deadwood Dick—who claimed his soul brothers were Bat Masterson, Billy the Kid and Jesse James. Deadwood Dick used to ride into the saloon, order two drinks—one for himself and one for his horse. And here's his horse, drinking a shot of red-eye with a straw.

And how about the 186,000 blacks who fought on the Union side during the Civil War? 38,000 died.

How about Teddy Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill? It wasn't just the Rough Riders who made it. Four black regiments went right up with Teddy. They didn't get lost going up the hill. They got lost in the history books.

How about the North Pole? Snow white? Well, the first man there was black. Matthew Henson. He spoke Eskimo, and he was Admiral Peary's navigator; and although he made it first to the pole, it never quite made it to the history books.

And how about your heart? Can we get there? All right. Daniel Hale Williams first performed open-heart surgery successfully.

This list could go on forever. Blacks who made it, blacks who made history, but who didn't get into the history texts at all. And the strange thing is, how little there is about us in the textbooks. Napoleon once said, "History is a fable agreed upon." And the fable agreed upon up to now is that American history is white on white.

Sometimes we do get into history books. All wrong. Now you take this one: "The Growth of the American Republic," 1942 edition. Samuel Eliot Morison, Henry Steele Commager. Quote: "As for . . ." This has to do with slavery. "As for Sambo . . ." Sambo, Professor Morison. Sambo, Professor Commager?

As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its "peculiar institution." ("Peculiar institution" means slavery.)

Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic Negro soon became attached to the country and devoted to his white folks." Unquote. Those lines were written by two Pulitzer Prizewinning white Northern professors.

(ANNOUNCEMENT.)

COSBY. Slavery. That's the place everybody likes to start Negro history. You have ignorant black men being brought over from Africa in chains. Terrible thing, slavery. But the way slavery is taught, it sort of takes the sting out of it. Because the way it's usually taught, people think we Afro-Americans started with nothing but little grass skirts, like the cats in the Tarzan movies. And though America gave us slavery, America kindly gave us religion and a lick or two of education, and when we get more jobs and more education—up from slavery!

But we had something before we left Africa—something more than rhythm. I mean, we had a high culture. Our culture was so high that great artists in the world are still borrowing from it.

Here's a sculpture by an unknown African artist—and here's what Paul Klee took from him.

Here's a work by an unknown black African—and Pablo Picasso liked what he saw.

Another African design—and Modigliani swiped it, or he was influenced by it, or whatever polite word you want to use.

Another black African artist—and Picasso didn't change it very much. I mean, when you look at this copying, you've got to give us a little more than rhythm. You've got to give us—style.

Now if you tell the history of slavery right, you've got a big problem on your hands. The slave trader didn't take some savage out of Africa. He took a human being, sold him like an animal and separated him from his family. America invented the cruelest slavery in the history of the world, because it broke up black families. After slavery was over, America kept breaking up the black man's family.

And that's some awful history to teach. Now if you want to look history right straight in the eye, you're going to get a black eye. Because it isn't important whether a few black heroes got lost or stolen or strayed in America's history textbooks. What's important is why they got left out. Now this country has got

a psychological history: there was a master race and there was a slave race, and though there isn't any political slavery any more, those same old attitudes have hung around. I mean the burning part of "Burn, baby, burn" is right here in this classroom.

We want to thank Mrs. Lovely Billups and the whole gang here at the fourth grade for the brilliant and intelligent art work that they've done here to make this whole broadcast sing. I want you guys to keep pretending that I'm not here. You're doing a great job, and just keep on drawing and reading and writing and doing what you have to do 'cause I'm going to talk about some other kids. Not you, Mary, John and Bobby. These are kids from other schools.

Did you know in some states it used to be against the law to teach blacks to read and write? Nowadays we're getting these integrated schoolrooms, and most people think that if we get enough teaching and enough jobs everything is going to take care of itself.

But there is the scar of history running right through kids as young as these. It tears you up, if you know how to look at drawings kids make, because kids shouldn't know much about history and anything about discrimination. I mean, nobody hates little black kids—but why do some of them cause so much trouble?

If you ask black and white children to draw themselves, or trees, or houses, some strange things happen. We asked some ordinary white kids from ordinary families to make some drawings for us. Like—well, let's call him John. John's white, and we asked him to draw himself. This is John. This is his house. This is his tree.

Then we asked a black kid—let's call him Ralph—to do the same thing. This is Ralph's drawing of himself. This is his tree. Now why should two kids of the same age draw so differently? Enter the expert. This is Dr. Emmanuel Hammer, psychiatrist specializing in children's therapy.

DR. HAMMER. Let me illustrate it for you. Let's take these drawings. No matter what a child draws, he's really picturing himself. Ask a secure child to draw a tree, and he's likely to draw a bountiful, spreading tree. A black child drew this tree. Cut off in its growth. Stark, bare, ungratified.

It works the same way with drawings of people. Normal children, average drawings. The mood is happy. The child feels capable. The drawings are complete. The arms are developed to emphasize strength.

These children were old enough to draw complete figures. The significant fact is what they left out. Arms. Hands. A child may sense that his situation in life is so powerless that he himself is equivalent to an armless man. My own study reveals that armless people appear three times more frequently in the drawings by black children than in those by white.

The faceless being suggests that these youngsters not only feel themselves to be less than they might be—they don't even feel themselves to be. The black child who is forced to live in a hostile world may disappear in self-defense. He drifts through life feeling like a shadow. He stops caring and he stops trying.

(Drawing of man hanging) A child who has this on his mind cannot be a child. A child who has this on his mind could want to burn down cities when he gets older.

COSBY. The whole confusion was summed up by a black nine-year-old in these two paintings. This is how a nine-year-old boy draws a white man—Robin Hood, maybe. And this is how the same boy draws himself. This is the consequence of deformed history.

MRS. BILLUPS. Linda, close the curtains. Brian, lower the screen. Bonnie, lights, please.

COSBY. In the past fifty years 33,000 feature films have been made in the United States, and about 6,000 of them have had parts for black actors. For the most part, the black portraits have been drawn by white writers, white producers and white directors for a white audience.

Most black parts were the way white Americans wanted them to be. The black male was consistently shown as nobody, nothing. He had no qualities that could be admired by any man, or, more particularly, any woman.

[Song: "Mississippi Mud."]

White people didn't like to think much about them. Sort of like a relative you've got in a rest home. Happy darkies dancing and singing was all they wanted to hear about. Being good Christians, the whites out front liked to think the blacks out back were kind of happy.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" was one of the first movies made that tried to say anything about black people. Uncle Tom was changed a little each time it was put on the stage and all the parts were played by white actors and by the time they

made a movie of it in 1903, Uncle Tom was just the white man's idea of "a good nigger." You might say he was what H. Rap Brown ain't.

They made this picture five times. By the time they finished with it, Mickey Rooney could have played Uncle Tom.

Minstrel shows started as the black man's entertainment for himself and the plantation owners. When they were filmed though, they were done by a white cast. Figure that out. They were done as a sort of a joke and the black entertainer couldn't even get a job making fun of himself.

The first really vicious anti-Negro film was called "The Birth of a Nation." And it was a honey. The second worst thing about it was that technically, in 1918, it was the best movie that had ever been made. A cat named D. W. Griffith produced it and he know how. See?

"The Birth of a Nation" pretended to tell the story of the Civil War and what happened afterwards when the slaves were freed. A white woman couldn't walk on her own sidewalk if you believed the picture.

In the South Negroes got the right to vote and the movie showed black vote collectors refusing to accept white votes. And black people sneaking in extra votes. And if these black bad guys don't look very bad to you, it's probably because they were white actors wearing burnt cork.

Negro legislators took over in the South and in the film they were made to look like apes. This was the movie version of how it looked in the Southern State Legislature. They drank whisky. They ate chicken with their hands in the State House. And they put their feet up on the table with their shoes off. And of course, they passed all sorts of crazy laws, according to the film. Like anybody could marry anybody they wanted to. It was obvious to anyone who saw this picture that Negroes weren't fit to govern themselves or anyone else, because they really weren't people.

This film is fifty years old and it may look silly and out of date now but it didn't look silly when it was made and seen. Several million Americans who saw it were propagandized to believe that this is the way things would be if they weren't careful. So they've been pretty careful.

Colonel Cameron, a former officer in the Confederate Army, is all upset over the way the Northerners and the freed slaves are changing his South. Taking the mint julep right out of his mouth. So he takes a walk one day while he's worrying about it, and he sees two white kids playing. (Children hide under sheet.) Then four black kids come along. Being hardly human and naturally afraid of ghosts, the black kids run. Colonel Cameron sees the whole scene and gets his great idea! And with this, that great, white all-American organization, the KKK, was born. Cavalry in a bedsheet has come to the rescue. The South is saved!

In this picture the Ku Klux Klan was the good boy who saved the South.

Most Hollywood films though, even the early ones, weren't really nasty. Nobody was sitting around saying, "Hey, let's take care of the niggers." What producers were doing was making money. And to make money they made pictures that white ticket-buyers would enjoy. They showed Negroes the way most Americans like to think of them. To blame Hollywood is like throwing a rock at the mirror because you don't like what you see in it.

Bert Williams was one of the great vaudeville performers. He couldn't get parts in white pictures so he made a lot of short comedies. He played the part most Americans considered "typical" Negro. He wasn't bad really, just lazy, stupid and happy the way he was. And his feet hurt.

He was afraid of most everything. And when he was scared he shook, and his teeth chattered. Unlike a scared white man, the black man's eyes could pop out of his head. When he was scared he was so scared he couldn't talk. He was also so scared he couldn't run.

Black women, on the other hand, were steady and imperturbable. They stood like a rock in the face of things that scared black men.

Another strange physical characteristic was when they were really very scared, the guys turned white!

When you look back on these old films, the patterns come jumping out at you. The most consistent thing about them was the attack on the black man. He was never even given the privilege of being a "man." He was a "boy," as in, you know, "Here, boy!"

They had a lot of other great qualities besides being cowardly. For instance, they stole chickens.

MAN. Who's in there? Who's in there?  
VOICE. Ain't nobody in here but us chickens!

COSBY. They shot craps.

MAN. Dice, yo' pappa talkin' to you now, dice, come on, just hit me one more time. Ah-h-h . . .

COSBY. And lions weren't the only thing they were afraid of either. They were afraid of gorillas . . .

BELLBOY. Rutherford, is that you next to me? Rutherford! Is that you next . . . Now come on, Rutherford, now don't . . . Is that you next to me? . . . Rutherford, please say yes that's you . . . Ha! . . . (Whistle) . . .

COSBY. They were also afraid of ghosts and skeletons.

MAN. Jim . . . Is that you scratchin' my head? . . . Jim! Jim! Now come on now, what are you lookin' at . . . (Laughter. Scream) . . .

HOSTLY VOICE. What's your hurry, boys? . . . (Door slams).

COSBY. Even when they were little boys they had these characteristics. Farina in "Our Gang" was the boy "boy."

The tradition of the lazy, stupid, crap-shooting, chicken-stealing idiot was popularized by an actor named Lincoln Theodore Monroe Andrew Perry. The cat made two million dollars in five years in the middle thirties. And everyone who ever saw a movie laughed at—Stepin Fetchit.

STEPIN FETCHIT. Come out, come out, wherever you is, wherever you be, whatever you do . . . Come out, come out wherever you at . . . I's the government lookin' for you . . .

MAN. Whatty a want, stranger?

STEPIN FETCHIT. You scare somebody stiff like that. I'm lookin' for hillbillies . . . is you one?

MAN. I ain't sayin' I am and I ain't sayin' I ain't.

STEPIN FETCHIT. Well, that's close enough for me . . . 'cause I'm tired of walkin' myself . . . The government telled me I got t' bring in a hillbilly, so you come go with me to Washington.

MAN. I ain't a goin'!

STEPIN FETCHIT. That's the color of another horse. Well, I tell you if you don't go for me, will you go for the—Navy?

MAN. No!

STEPIN FETCHIT. Won't go for the Navy . . . go for the Army?

MAN. No, I won't go for the Army!

COSBY. It's too bad he was as good at it as he was. The character he played was planted in a lot of people's heads and they remember it the rest of their lives as clear as an auto accident.

MAN. What's that? Are you an Indian?

STEPIN FETCHIT. Is I an Indian? . . . Man, you don't know . . . I got one-fourth of Cherokee . . . and two-fourths of Seminole . . . and I got four-fifths of Hiawatha . . .

MAN. Wait a minute! Hiawatha was a woman.

STEPIN FETCHIT. I can't help it. I got four-fifths of her.

COSBY. He played in movies with other actors who were as American as Mom's raspberry jello. If they accepted the stereotype, how wrong could it be?

STEPIN FETCHIT. Judge Rigby, could I say something?

JUDGE. Well . . . I'm pretty busy.

STEPIN FETCHIT. Yes, but I just wanted to ask you if you heared about it.

JUDGE. Heard about what?

STEPIN FETCHIT. About over at my house, night before last . . .

JUDGE. Oh . . . another baby?

STEPIN FETCHIT. Yassah, you sho guessed it. You heard?

JUDGE. What's his name?

STEPIN FETCHIT. Oh, we call him . . . L.R.—Lias Rigby Livingstone.

JUDGE. Oh, named him after me, did you?

STEPIN FETCHIT. Yassah, Lias Rigby . . . I told my wife, "Honey, I know Judge sho' gonna be gratified . . ."

JUDGE. Well, of course, I appreciate the honor . . .

STEPIN FETCHIT. Yassah . . .

JUDGE. I suppose it's a compliment and I ought to do something for you.

STEPIN FETCHIT. Yassah . . . That's what I thought . . .

JUDGE. You come over to my place tomorrow, and I'll give you a job.

STEPIN FETCHIT. Job?

JUDGE. Rakin' leaves.

STEPIN FETCHIT. Did I ask you for work?

COSBY. All-American little Shirley Temple played a lot of parts that involved her with black actors. She was always real nice to them.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. Oh, James Henry, you always do it wrong!

COSBY. This is an imitation Stepin Fetchit named Willie Best with Shirley.

BLACK GIRL. C'mon, Miss Virgie.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. I just won't budge. I'll show them I'm not afraid.

COSBY. The cute little white girl was brave and strong in the face of danger.

The big black man was stupid and cowardly.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. What are you afraid of them for?

MAN. Oh, honey chile, them Yankees is mighty powerful. They can even change the weather.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. Yes?

MAN. Whenever they come around, I never know whether it's winter or summer . . . I'm shiverin' and sweatin' at the same time . . .

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. James Henry, serve these cookies to . . . and wipe his chin.

MAN. Yes, ma'am, Miss Virgie.

COSBY. She was good to them and they were good to her. Sort of a master and pet relationship.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. How would you like to see Uncle Billy dance?

ROBINSON. All right, James Henry, let's get goin' . . . (Music)

COSBY. This is Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, one of the great ones, but if he wanted to work and dance he had to come into a picture through the servant's entrance.

Shirley was good to children too. They loved their little mistress and she treated them real good.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. Hello, Sally Ann.

COSBY. Just like they were equals.

BLACK WOMAN. Go on now, Sally Ann.

SALLY ANN. Miss Virgie . . . Miss Virgie . . . Please, ma'am, we all done come here and wish you many happy . . . happy . . .

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. Returns . . .

SALLY ANN. That's it! Many happy returns of the day. And we all made you a dolly. Here it is . . . Miss Virgie . . . but . . . I forgot it . . .

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. You said everything, Sally Ann. Don't you worry. This is the very nicest present I got. Thank you ever so much!

MOTHER. Yes, indeed, Sally, it was very thoughtful and sweet. Come now, dear.

SHIRLEY TEMPLE. I'll see you later. And I'll save you some cake.

SALLY ANN. We'll be waiting . . .

COSBY. I suppose it might have surprised a lot of Hollywood writers and producers to know a scene like that could actually make a lot of people, mostly black, sick to their stomach.

This is a lot of fun, isn't it?

The newsreels that were shown along with the feature films knew a good thing when they saw one. They helped keep all the black cats in their place. Nobody black ever did anything very newsy in a newsreel. They did things like eat watermelon in a watermelon-eating contest. Then another favorite for the newsreel cameraman was to film people throwing things at them. Good sport.

Some college football publicity man decided this was a good idea. And there were a lot of very funny golf pictures. If you weren't black, they were funny—I guess.

GOLFER. Put that in your mouth.

VOICE. Don't miss, boss, don't miss.

GOLFER. Well, you keep still, see. Otherwise you'll have flowers in your room, only you won't smell 'em . . . Oh, boy.

COSBY. Everything suggested the black man was nothing.

Hollywood adopted a sort of British attitude toward black natives of other countries. They were always sneaking around in the bushes, you know, carrying stuff on their heads. White men weren't supposed to get caught sweating. Ann Harding played a scene in a picture called "Prestige," and it stated the colonial attitude:

BARRYMORE. Don't let it break Andre. Take to him your race for a wedding gift, the prestige of the white man. That means everything you stand for, and it is the only weapon you two will have . . . prestige . . . but it is enough to preserve you.

HARDING. Yes, sir. And I'll try to remember—if you'll kiss me.

COSBY. Even though most non-white natives of any place were savages in films, it often pleased white producers to endow a few chosen blacks with the virtue of great loyalty to him, the white man. Here's one defending Ann Harding to the

death. There was always one loyal and true black man who would do anything for his master. Some of them were wonderful people. You know, if you really get a good one.

Mostly though, Negroes were not heroes, they were bit-part servants. Railroad porters . . .

PORTER. Watch your step there. This is your destination, folks.

COSBY. They made very good chauffeurs. Looked good in their caps.

CHAUFFEUR. Good morning, Colonel.

COSBY. And they were great at serving all kinds of drinks.

MAID. M-m-m-m, that cough of yours stays with you like a poor relation.

MAN. What's that you got there?

MAID. Just sassafras tea.

COSBY. Wherever there was a thirsty master, there were they also.

WOMAN. I'm expecting . . . for lunch . . .

COSBY. They played Aunt Jemima.

WOMAN. . . . Will you have enough?

AUNT JEMIMA. I don't know if I can stretch one small chicken, but as long as the water's runnin' we'll have soup enough.

WOMAN. Will you take Kay upstairs and wash all that goo off her face and give her a good scrubbing.

COSBY. One question they never answered: When the Negro woman was taking care of the white woman's kids, who was taking care of hers?

They did all kinds of odd jobs around a picture, like walking horses. When they weren't walking horses, they were out back playing craps, of course. Recreation.

They met people at the station for their masters.

NEGRO MAN. Is—er—uh—you folks—uh . . .

WOMAN. We've come all the way from Ireland. Mr. Milford's expecting us. Mr. Milford.

NEGRO MAN. Yas'm . . . Yas'm . . . You's which I'm looking for . . . I Mr. Milford's boy . . .

MAN. His boy, you say?

NEGRO MAN. Yes, sir. Murphy is the name, sir.

WOMAN. Did you say Murphy?

NEGRO MAN. Yes, Miz. Murphy. They calls me "walkin' Murphy."

WOMAN. Walkin' Murphy?

NEGRO MAN. Yes'm, most of us Murphys down here just sit. I walk.

COSBY. They make wonderful servants of all kinds in pictures—dumb but loyal.

MAID. Isn't this a beautiful night. I just love parties, don't you?

MAN. I beg your pardon?

MAID. Thank you kindly. Yes, hello? This is the Bergdon residence.

COSBY. But things were getting pretty tough in the thirties. A good thing for a lot of black actors was they made a movie called "The Green Pastures" with, like they say, "a cast of thousands." It gave a lot of people work but it had all the old stereotyped characters. It was clever and funny and all black—but it was a white man's picture.

CHILD. I'm an angel . . .

WOMAN. Henry, you sure got the prettiest wings.

HENRY. Oh, they just my old ones.

BOY (To dice). Oh, Lord, let me get them groceries . . . Oh, Lord, let me see that little six. Wham . . .

GAMBLER. Come on, you gonna fade me or not?

MAN. Why, you just a little boy, gamblin' and sinnin', and chewin' tobacco like you was your own pappy. And you been drinking Sunny-Kick-Mammy wine too. You gamblers ought to be ashamed of yourself, leadin' this boy to sin.

GAMBLER. Why, he's the best crap-shooter in town.

BOY. If you find my mammy—you're doing more than I can.

COSBY. While Hollywood was turning out films, radio came along and decided to get in on it too. Two white fellows from Chicago invented two black characters they named Amos and Andy. They played their parts on the radio for thirty years. This is them doing their bit:

AMOS. Well, Brother Crawford looks pretty good since he's been here in Palm Springs, don't he?

ANDY. Yeah . . .

COSBY. When radio moved over to let television in, Amos and Andy went with it. These two white cats couldn't play Amos and Andy where you could see them, so what they did was they had a black cast. The cast was different, but the

sterotypes were the ones the white people had come to know and love. They were shady characters with money.

KINGFISH. Well, I got the books right here, and they open to each and every brother's complete inspection. Get yo hands off that thing there! So you want to see the financial books, huh? Well, there they is . . . there they is . . . You done seen 'em.

COSBY. They were still slow and lazy.

MAN. Are you sure they not here?

LIGHTNING. Oh, yes, sir, I know, they told me so themselves.

MAN. Have them report to our office right away.

LIGHTNING. I sure tell 'em all right.

COSBY. They had trouble with the English language . . . misused words a lot . . .

KINGFISH. Mr. Brown, my new sekatary here, she ain't gonna have no time for no extra-cuticle activities.

WIFE. And I'm tellin' you now, as long as you have that secretary in your office, I'm going to work as a secretary myself.

KINGFISH. Oh . . . give me an ultoma to huh? Put my foot down.

COSBY. They had trouble with women . . . and it was always the women who were dominant.

WOMAN. Come on, Herman.

COSBY. Mostly black actors aren't playing the old stereotypes any more. There are people who say they're playing a new stereotype. Sidney Poitier is always helping some little old ladies across the street, whether they want to go or not. Black people in this country got a bum deal for a long while, and it won't hurt much if we see a little of that now and then.

Stanley Kramer has let us use some scenes from "Guess Who's Coming To Dinner." Look at these and remember "Birth of a Nation." This is the opening scene when Katherine Houghton is bringing Sidney home for the first time.

HOUGHTON. This is Dr. Prentiss. John, Miss Matilda Binks.

POITIER. Pleased to meet you, Miss Binks. I've certainly heard a great deal about you.

COSBY. Katherine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy are the girl's parents.

HEPBURN. She's 23 years old and the way she is, is just exactly the way we brought her up to be. We answered her questions. She listened to our answers. We told her it was wrong to believe that the white people were somehow essentially superior to the black people. Or the brown or the red or the yellow ones for that matter. People who thought that way were wrong to think that way. Sometimes hateful, usually, stupid, but always—always wrong. That's what we said. And when we said it we did not add, "But don't ever fall in love with a colored man."

COSBY. And Sidney tell it like it is to his old man :

POITIER. You and your whole lousy generation believe the way it was for you is the way it's got to be. And not until your whole generation has lain down and died will the dead weight of you be off our backs! You understand? You've got to get off my back! Dad . . . you're my father . . . I'm your son . . . I love you . . . I always have, and I always will. But you think of yourself as a colored man. I think of myself as a man.

COSBY. When the movies and the classroom get into the streets of black America, some strange things happen. Because what history and the films have been telling the black man is that he's nothing unless he joins the white world. The message used to read: Black is nothing, white is beautiful. For a long time a lot of black cats spent their lives trying to be white. For instance—hair.

Some people call straight hair "good" hair 'cause it looks like white hair. Kinky hair is bad. The man on the right is having his hair cut naturally. The man on the left is having a process job. What the barber is doing is applying harsh chemicals to his head, so he'll have straight hair, like those movie stars had. It's a painful, long process that costs \$6.00, and has to be looked after every couple of weeks. These days any young black man will find the whole process demeaning. I mean, it's out, even in the ghetto.

For a while it seemed to the black community that the way to escape was to get as rich as possible, and look as white as possible. And as affluence came to some black people, all the lessons of history and all the lessons of the movies seemed to be: "Make it on the white man's terms." So the rich black cat took the rich white cat's dreams, and tried to walk through the door.

I mean, today many middle class blacks have the education and the bread to buy everything the white man dreams—every dream but one: getting into the center of the country. When you can't make it, you make up your own. A lot of black women think we ain't ever gonna make it.

NEGRO WOMAN. There's a fallacy in this country that says that any man by his merit can make it. This is not true. Do not believe that. It is not true. Because any man in this society cannot make it. That's where the whole fallacy is.

The white man keeps saying to you: "If you'll just stop being black, if you just stop shooting you \* \* \* your people on Saturday nights, just stop talking Negro dialect, clean yourself up, get yourself a job, you gonna make it in this society." It's not true.

I know for myself. I have a master's degree in social work and I know that people won't accept me. And I was an honor student and I know I can make it. They won't accept me. They don't discriminate against me because I'm a Christian. They're discriminating against me because I'm black.

COSBY. The message down here is coming in strong. It happens to be: Be yourself. Be black. A new generation of black young Americans is asserting itself. What they're saying is: If you can't wash white, even if you have the money, if you can't wash white 'cause you're basically black, what you do is react, sometimes radically.

Here's a measure of the reaction to "White is beautiful." This is a storefront school in Philadelphia. The children here are being given a black preparation before they enter the city's schools. They're not specially gifted children; they're just from the neighborhood. One black man named John Churchville put it all together and financed it himself.

CHURCHVILLE. A number is a concept of quantity or an amount. Right. Do you understand that? All right. A number is a concept of quantity or an amount. That is wrong.

CLASS. No. No.

CHURCHVILLE. A number is a concept of quantity or an amount. That is dead wrong? Well. Yes or no? Is it wrong?

CLASS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. All right, then say it loud. You ought to be screaming me out of this room. A number \* \* \*

CLASS. No. No. No.

COSBY. He's not only teaching new math to children whose ages range from seventeen months to five years—he's decided to give them the emotional armor they need to protect themselves against the education he thinks they'll receive when they start kindergarten.

CHURCHVILLE. Anybody tells you something wrong, are you going to do it?

CLASS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. What do you want, Jenell?

JENELL. I want freedom.

CHURCHVILLE. When do you want it?

JENELL. I want my freedom now.

CHURCHVILLE. No, you have to wait until next week, Jenell, you can't have it now. Can you wait until next week?

JENELL. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. O.K. Sit down. All right, young man, stand up. When do you want your freedom, young man?

MICHAEL. I want freedom now.

CHURCHVILLE. You can wait 'till next week, can't you?

MICHAEL. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Michael, you'll just have to wait until next week. You can't have it now. Are you willing to wait 'till next week?

MICHAEL. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Suppose I said that you have to wait until next week. Now you're gonna wait 'till next week aren't you?

MICHAEL. No.

CHURCHVILLE. How are you going to get your freedom?

MICHAEL. I will use any means necessary to win my freedom.

CHURCHVILLE. Any means necessary?

MICHAEL. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. All right, sit down. Young man, what is your name?

ERIC. My name is Eric Houston.

CHURCHVILLE. What is your nationality?

ERIC. My nationality is Afro-American.

CHURCHVILLE. What is freedom?

ERIC. Freedom is black power.

CHURCHVILLE. What is black power?

ERIC. Black power is . . .

CHURCHVILLE. Do you know what black power is?

ERIC. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Well, then you should never use—you should never make any statements that you don't know what they mean.

ERIC. I'm sorry, I don't know.

CHURCHVILLE. All right. How old are you, young man?

ERIC. I am four years old.

CHURCHVILLE. You're not four, Eric. Now you tell me your right age? How old are you? How old are you?

ERIC. I am four years old.

CHURCHVILLE. Are you sure you're four?

ERIC. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. You're gonna let me turn you around and tell you you're some other age? You're six years old, Eric.

ERIC. No.

CHURCHVILLE. I can't hear you, Eric.

ERIC. No!

CHURCHVILLE. Are you being frightened by me?

ERIC. No!

CHURCHVILLE. I'm a teacher. I said you're six.

ERIC. I am four years old.

CHURCHVILLE. All right, then, you stand up for it then. You shouldn't be weak. You stand up and say it. You ought to scream it in my face if I try to tell you different, right?

ERIC. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. Have a seat. Stand up, young man. Are you a Negro, Travis?

TRAVIS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Are you a flunky, Travis?

TRAVIS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. What are you?

TRAVIS. I am black and beautiful.

CHURCHVILLE. And what else are you? Are you a boy?

TRAVIS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. What are you?

TRAVIS. No, I'm a man.

CHURCHVILLE. What kind of a man?

TRAVIS. A black and beautiful man.

CHURCHVILLE. But what kind—are you an old man or a young man?

TRAVIS. Young man.

CHURCHVILLE. Very good, very good. Are you just going to let somebody make you a boy?

TRAVIS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. All right. Suppose I tell you something wrong, Travis, are you going to do it?

TRAVIS. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. You're going to do something if I tell when it's wrong?

TRAVIS. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Have a seat, young man. Eric, you're going to be reasonable, aren't you?

ERIC. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Here you are, fine young man, right?

ERIC. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. Are you going to be scared of me?

VOICE. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Are you going to be scared of some—President of the United States?

VOICE. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Some Mayor?

VOICE. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Some policeman?

VOICE. No.

CHURCHVILLE. All right. You're a Negro . . . You're a Negro, Eric.

ERIC. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Somebody pass me my stick. I said you're a Negro, boy.

ERIC. No.

CHURCHVILLE. You're getting mighty soft. You're a Negro!

ERIC. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Very good, sit down. You, young man, come here. Your nationality is American Negro. Yes.

BOY. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Your nationality—look, don't play with me. You're a Negro.

LEON. No.

CHURCHVILLE. I am your teacher. You are a Negro.

LEON. No.

CHURCHVILLE. Suppose I threaten to beat you, what would you say? Aren't you a Negro now?

LEON. No.

CHURCHVILLE. What are you?

LEON. I'm black and beautiful.

CHURCHVILLE. What is your nationality?

LEON. My nationality is Afro-American.

CHURCHVILLE. Suppose I had some money in my pocket, suppose I gave you a dollar to say that you're an American Negro. This is money, now. Money talks, money talks. This dollar—and if you don't say it you don't get it. You're an American Negro, aren't you?

LEON. No.

CHURCHVILLE. You won't have any money. You know you need money, don't you?

LEON. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. You need money to live, don't you?

LEON. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. All right, all you have to say, Leon, is that you're an American Negro. Aren't you an American Negro? Are you an American Negro?

LEON. No.

CHURCHVILLE. What are you?

LEON. I'm black and beautiful?

CHURCHVILLE. What's your nationality?

MR. LEON. My nationality is Afro-American.

CHURCHVILLE. Very good, man, keep it up. Go sit down. You have to think about that a minute, didn't you?

LEON. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. All right. All right everybody, what is your nationality?

CLASS. My nationality is Afro-American.

CHURCHVILLE. Very good. All right, what I did is what people are going to do to you in different ways when you get out of this school. They're not going to just right up to you and give you a dollar or say if you say that you're an Afro—if you say you're an American Negro I'll give you a dollar. But they're going to be very nice to you some of them, and they're going to try to, you know, get you not to love black people. They're going to try to get you to, you know, be something other than you are. They're going to try to make you—make it seem as though you're different from the masses of black people. And they want you to be—"Go away, I'll tell you . . . I'll give you special things if you'll just come along with me and do what I say." But you must reject that. Now, do you know what that means? That means you're not going to have the money you'd like to have. The money is not important. We need money, you know, we have to buy things with it, but money is not the thing we're living for. The only thing that makes a person worth living is being a man and being a woman, being strong in character, seeing straight, telling the truth and living in the truth and doing the right thing. You understand that?

CLASS. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. So no matter what happens, I want you all to always tell the what?

CLASS. Truth.

CHURCHVILLE. You may not get the marks you're supposed to get in school. You may be doing the work, but because the teacher doesn't like your attitude and she'll always tell you, "I don't like your attitude" because you're independent. But you're not going to school for grades. You're going for what?

VOICE. Learn.

CHURCHVILLE. All right, and what kind of people is everybody in this room going to be? Tell me the kind of people you're going to be.

CLASS. Black and beautiful.

CHURCHVILLE. What else? You're already that. What are you going to be? You going to be stupid?

BOY. No.

CHURCHVILLE. What kind of people you going to be?

BOY. Excellent.

CHURCHVILLE. You're going to be excellent, and what else? Yes, ma'am?

GIRL. Strong.

CHURCHVILLE. And strong, what else?

VOICE. And good.

CHURCHVILLE. And good. What else?

VOICE. And a genius.

CHURCHVILLE. And a genius, and what else? I'm looking for another word. All of you are geniuses right now, maybe better than that. What else? I'm looking for a word that begins with B-bri-brilliant.

VOICE. Brilliant.

CHURCHVILLE. Brilliant, and brilliant really means to shine, and all of you will shine. All of you are really going to be brilliant. Good enough. All right, how does everybody feel now?

CLASS. Fine!

CHURCHVILLE. Are you ready to get ready for lunch?

CLASS. Yes.

CHURCHVILLE. Who's hungry?

COSBY. It's kind of like brainwashing. Or is it? Can you blame us for over-compensating?

I mean when you take the way black history got lost, stolen or strayed, when you think about the kids drawing themselves without faces and when you remember the fine actors who had to play baboons to make a buck, I guess you've got to give us the sin of pride. Pride. "Hubris" in the original Greek.

Three hundred years we've been in this American melting pot and we haven't been able to melt in yet. That's a long wait. Listen, we've been trying all kinds of parts to make the American scene. We've been trying to play it straight and white, but it's been just bit parts. From now on, we're going to play it black and American. We're proud of both. Hubris.

I'm Bill Cosby. And you take care of yourself.

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CBS NEWS SPECIAL, OF BLACK AMERICA—"THE BLACK SOLDIER" AS BROADCAST  
OVER THE CBS TELEVISION NETWORK, TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1968, 10-10:30 P.M.  
E.D.T.—NARRATED BY BILL COSBY

(Produced by: Peter Poor, Written by: Thomas A. Johnson and Jon Wilkman,  
Executive Producer: Perry Wolff)

ANNOUNCER. CBS NEWS presents the second in its seven-part series, of Black America: "The Black Soldier."

[Announcement.]

[Battle Sounds.]

BILL COSBY. The United States Army in Vietnam. During the last two hundred years the American military has fought eight major wars around the world. The source of its strength remains the same men—young men.

American fighting men, 10,000 miles aways from New Haven—and Watts—fighting another war. White men. Black men. Today they fight as equals. Long before the violent birth of our Nation, black men died in American wars. They died as equals, but they were not always allowed to fighting—or live—as equals. In most history books the story of the black men in battle is usually ignored. The true history has many surprises.

This monument on the Boston Common honors the first martyrs in America's struggle for freedom. Since the founding of American colonies tensions between colonists and British troops had been building. On March 5, 1770, these tensions exploded into violence. British troops opened fire on an angry Boston crowd. A drawing by Paul Revere records this pivotal instant in American history—the Boston Massacre. The first to fall was Crispus Attucks, an escaped slave—a black man. This was the beginning. Revolution became inevitable.

The Colonial Army needed men, but General George Washington did not want black men. Despite Washington's official policy, Negroes willingly fought against the British. The British officer who ordered the "shot heard 'round the world" at Lexington, Major Pitcairn, was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill by a colonial sharpshooter. His name—Peter Salem. He was a black man.

While General Washington discouraged Negro enlistments, the British promised freedom to any slave who would join the Loyalist cause. This was the first of many attempts to undermine Negro support in American wars. Although the British had only limited success. General Washington was alarmed and he called for an active recruitment of black freemen. When Washington crossed the Delaware on Christmas Day, 1776, two Negroes were with him, Oliver Cromwell and Prince Whipple. Nearly 5,000 black men fought in the American Revolution.

In 1813, the young America was at war again. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry didn't want Negro sailors but the Battle of Lake Erie changed his mind. He later said, "They seemed absolutely insensible to danger." An act of Congress had restricted the Navy to "able-bodied white males," but black sailors fought and died aboard American warships.

In 1814 General Andrew Jackson actively recruited black soldiers for the defense of New Orleans. Until then, fear of slave revolts in the South had restricted black participation in the war. More than 600 free Negroes helped hold strategic positions against the British assault. Jackson's appeal had been to black men who were free. Most Negroes were still slaves.

By 1860, growing pains had begun to split the nation. Slavery was a public symbol for the deep problems that led to the Civil War. At first it was a white man's war. Eleven days after Confederate troops opened fire on Fort Sumter, a free Negro volunteered to fight for the Union and was refused. The official policy in the North said that Negro slaves were contraband—captured property, not potential fighting men. President Lincoln feared the loss of border state support if he used black troops in the war. Meanwhile, from all over the North came offers of black regiments.

From the South came escaped slaves who were willing to join the fight for freedom. Bearing the scars of slavery, a few were allowed to serve. They became symbols of new hope for black men, both slave and free. After months of costly and indecisive fighting the North began to recruit Negro troops. It was an all-out war and military necessity overruled racial politics. By June 1862, the first Negro combat unit called the "Corps d'Afrique"—the African Corps—was organized.

Black sailors were mixed with white seamen aboard fighting ships on both sides. The Union's Mississippi Squadron reported more than 800 black sailors. Negro sailors were aboard the iron-clad Monitor when it fought the Merrimac. One black river pilot, Robert Smalls, became a Union hero when he delivered his Confederate gunboat and its slave crew to the Union fleet.

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation. The United States Armed Forces were officially opened to all Negroes. Freedom, however, did not bring equality. The Civil War ended slavery but marked the beginning of a segregated American military. Segregated Negro units were called "United States Colored Troops."

Former slaves clashed with slave owners. At Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, 1,000 black soldiers fought 2,000 white Texans in fierce hand-to-hand combat, but were finally overrun. Most black troops were noncombatants. They were laborers, cooks and teamsters. They were also spies, couriers and scouts. By the end of the war, 186,000 Negroes had joined the Union Army. Even the South had passed a Negro Enrollment Bill in 1864, but it was too late.

More than 500,000 Americans died in the Civil War; 38,000 of them were black.

After the war, four all-Negro regiments were organized and sent to frontier forts on the Western Plains. Their officers, of course, were all white. Saturday afternoon at the local movie house most Americans learned that the taming of the Wild West was a matter of the white man versus the redskin. Few history books record the fact that when the cavalry rode to the rescue troopers were often black. Black troopers died with General Custer at the Little Big Horn. They helped run Sitting Bull into Canada, chased desperadoes like Billy the Kid and captured the Apache Chief, Geronimo. These were some of the real troopers who fought the Indians on the Western Plains. Fourteen of them won the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Havana Harbor—February 15, 1898. Thirty Negroes were aboard the battleship Maine that night. Twenty lost their lives. When the Spanish-American war broke out, black troops were called from the frontier and shipped to Cuba. Within

months, the all-Negro 10th Cavalry had saved Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders at Las Guasimas. Black soldiers played their most important role to date in the Spanish-American war. Black troopers fought at El Caney and joined the Rough Riders in the charge up San Juan Hill.

"I want no better men beside me in battle than these colored troopers," said Colonel Roosevelt. But seven years later, as President, Roosevelt court-martialed three companies of the all-Negro 25th Infantry when there was violence in Brownsville, Texas, due to discrimination against black troops. Tough and independent black soldiers refused to conform to servile white stereotypes. White hostility in Houston, Texas, 11 years later, provoked an even bloodier clash. Black soldiers of the 24th Regiment shot up the town, killing 17 whites. The result was a mass murder trial. Thirteen Negro soldiers were hanged and 41 sentenced to life imprisonment.

When the United States entered World War I, Americans said they would "make the world safe for democracy." The country mobilized, but Negro enlistments were restricted. Once again, however, manpower needs overruled racial prejudice.

The Army's highest ranking Negro officer, Colonel Charles Young, was retired as "physically unfit for duty," even though he rode horseback from Ohio to Washington, D.C. to prove his fitness. The American military remains segregated and most black troops were commanded by whites.

General John J. Pershing, Commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force, earned his nickname, "Black Jack," as a commander of Negro troops before World War I. Pershing had no objection to black combat troops, but many high ranking officers and government officials publicly questioned the black man's ability to fight. During the war more than 370,000 Negroes were in uniform—40,000 on the front lines. Most black soldiers were relegated to service units. They were laborers, ditchdiggers and stevedores.

The first Negro combat division overseas, the 93rd, went into battle in April 1918, fighting under French command. Home-grown discrimination followed black soldiers into the trenches. One document, widely circulated in France, openly declared that Negroes were inferior to whites. Despite this discrimination, black combat units fought well. The 369th Regiment saw 191 straight days of front-line action and never lost a foot of ground.

Black troops won many combat awards, and they were the first to win the highest French military honor, the Croix de Guerre. For most Americans, however, the black combat record was obscured by controversy. One black regiment, under American command, was accused of "sneaking to the rear." A government investigation found no basis for widespread criticism of Negro troops, but within four months after the Armistice, all black troops were shipped home. Negro troops had been well-received by the French, but exaggerated reports of black soldiers raping French women prompted American officials to get black troops out of Europe. In New York, Negro veterans were marched up Fifth Avenue through cheering crowds—back home—back home to Harlem.

During the years between the two wars, Negro troops were reduced to less than three per cent of the Armed Forces. After World War II broke out in Europe, America began a new mobilization. The 1940 Selective Service Act said there would be "no racial discrimination in the selection and training of America's Armed Forces," but the military maintained its tradition of segregation.

Public figures like Joe Louis became symbols for the recruitment of a black American Army. Military thinking still relegated most Negroes to labor battalions, but some were trained for combat duties, even elite units.

Elite, but separate. The pattern was clear: There was going to be two Armies, two Navies and two Air Forces—one white, the other black. The military reflected a racially divided America. The Armed Forces felt that their job was to fight, not to lead social reform.

Black America's Air Force began training on the Alabama campus of Tuskegee Institute.

The 99th Pursuit Squadron was activated in 1941 under the first Negro West Point graduate since 1889, Lt. Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Jr.

One of the first American heroes of World War II was Dorie Miller, a Navy mess steward at Pearl Harbor. Dorie shot down four attacking Japanese planes and won the Navy Cross. Three years later, Dorie Miller was killed in action. He was still a mess steward. Most Negroes in the Navy were messmen and change came slowly.

The black American Navy, in February 1944, included two anti-submarine vessels with all-Negro crews. Their officers, with one exception, were white. The

absurdity of a Navy within a Navy finally led Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal to order the integration of all naval vessels.

Most of the fighting in the Pacific fell to the Marine Corps, and for 167 years the Marine Corps was all-white. In 1942, the Corps began enlisting black fighting men for the first time. As manpower needs went up, resistance to black troops went down. Segregation, however, remained. Military leaders argued that segregation reduced racial friction. In fact, it intensified it. During the war there were racial incidents at home and overseas, from the defense plants of Detroit to base camps in Guam. In the Pacific, Negroes worked and fought at Guadalcanal, Okinawa and Iwo Jima. Death and suffering made no racial distinctions.

The 99th Pursuit Squadron represented a major departure from the military policy of using Negroes mostly as service troops. It was a token gesture. After years of pressure, black men were finally allowed to prove that they could perform complex jobs of a modern military machine. The 99th established one of the best combat records of the war. Other all-Negro Air Corps units followed. In all, 95 black pilots won the Distinguished Flying Cross.

Two all-Negro infantry divisions served overseas—the 93rd in the Pacific and the 92nd in Italy. Public officials, military men and war correspondents closely watched the 92nd's performance. On February 14, 1945, elements of the division were accused of "melting away" in the face of German resistance. Lack of faith between black troops and their white officers and a confused chain of command weakened the 92nd. Morale was often low. Ninety per cent of the unit scored poorly on military intelligence tests. Many had not been trained with their basic weapon—the M-1 rifle.

Five hundred and forty-two Bronze Stars and many other combat awards were earned by the men of the 92nd, but controversy marred their record. One Negro officer wrote after the war: "When I think of what the 92nd might have been, I'm heartsick." The controversial record of the 92nd was widely publicized, although it was only one of the 4,000 black units that served during World War II.

The German counteroffensive, the Battle of the Bulge, broke through Allied lines advancing toward the Rhine. It also resulted in a breakthrough in the American Army's racial policies. Twenty-five hundred black volunteers were integrated into white companies on the front. Germans forced the first large-scale racial integration of the American Army. After the battle was won most of the Negro volunteers were returned to their segregated units.

More than a million Negroes served in the American Armed Forces during World War II, half of them overseas. Black soldiers landed at Omaha Beach on D-Day. Negro anti-aircraft units fought on Normandy Beach, in Italy and in North Africa. Black engineers worked on the Ledo Road in Burma, the Stilwell Road in China, and linked Alaska and Canada with the Alcan Highway. At Anzio black engineers unloaded nearly 2,000 tons of supplies under fire. More than half of the drivers in the famous Red Ball Express were Negroes. Black troops served all across Europe and throughout the Pacific. Many were decorated for bravery in combat.

With the end of the war America began to reassess the racial policies of the military. The enormous manpower needs of the war effort had already threatened racial segregation in the Armed Forces.

Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis Sr., the military's highest ranking black officer, began his career as a private in the Spanish-American war. His was a lonely career. A new era in the history of the Negro in the Armed Forces was about to begin. The black community had grown far more militant in its demands for racial equality. Black veterans came home and joined a new fight—the fight for Civil Rights.

In October 1947, a national Commission on Civil Rights, formed by Harry Truman, called for a new government program dedicated to the "elimination of racial segregation from American life." On July 26, 1948, President Truman signed an historic Executive Order. He declared: "There shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Armed Forces without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." The job of changing a century-old military tradition of racial segregation began.

At first there was resistance, but Secretary of Defense James Forrestal and Secretary of the Air Force Stuart Symington strongly supported the new program. "We're going to end segregation," Symington told the Generals. "You've got to stop this double-talk and act."

War in Korea hastened the breakdown of America's segregated Armed Forces. By 1953 only five per cent of Negro enlisted men remained in all-black units.

The percentage of Negro officers in the Army had doubled. One military report announced: "Efficiency has been increased, disciplinary problems reduced and morale improved."

Historic all-Negro units were integrated with white troops. A year before it was integrated, the 24th Infantry Regiment added a final victory to its 81-year history. Black soldiers of the 24th captured the City of Yech-on, our first major victory of the Korean War. For the most part, the history of the Korean war was not a history of white troops or black troops. In the military "an order is an order," and the American Armed Forces had been ordered to integrate. By the end of the war the military found itself in the forefront of the Civil Rights Movement. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court handed down its historic school desegregation decision. The Armed Forces had ordered its civilian schools desegregated four months before.

American soldiers returning from Korea had not only fought a war, they had lived an experiment. The success of racial integration in the military was an undeniable fact. For many Americans, both white and black, the impersonal discipline of an integrated Armed Forces was their first experience of racial equality.

Little more than a decade later America was at war again. The carrier Kitty Hawk launches air-strikes against North Vietnam. In the war in Vietnam black and white fighting men are fully integrated. Eleven per cent of the American population is black. In Vietnam, Negroes are about 20 percent of the front-line forces; even more are in elite units. Fourteen percent of the Americans killed in Vietnam are Negroes.

Young black fighting men along the DMZ and in the jungles around Saigon say: "We're proving ourselves." But there is already 200 years of proof. The irony is that many of these young blacks—and many white Americans—think this war in Vietnam is the first time black men have fought in an American war. The purpose of this half-hour has been to set the record straight.

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CBS NEWS SPECIAL, OF BLACK AMERICA—"BLACK WORLD," AS BROADCAST OVER THE  
CBS TELEVISION NETWORK, TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1968, 10-11 P.M., E.D.T.

(Narrated by Mike Wallace, executive producer, Perry Wolff)

ANNOUNCER. CBS News presents "OF BLACK AMERICA," the third in its seven-part series: "Black World."

(Announcement.)

MIKE WALLACE. Recently of a certain Sunday evening at the Star Hotel in Accra, Ghana, a number of people were dancing to the strains of "Carolina Moon Keep Shining," a song that dates from the 1920's. On the same Sunday evening in New York, a number of Americans, followers of an African religion that dates from the 8th century, danced the mysterious rites of the Yoruba Tribe. This whole process is called "acculturation" and it's a bit confusing.

For another example, on the streets of Accra, you can see mini-skirts, a style that came to Africa by way of London, Paris, and New York. Meanwhile, fashionable American women who have tired of the mini-skirt have taken up the long-flowing African robe. This African style is based on the sensible notion that men are more attracted by what they imagine than by what they see.

Our theme tonight is acculturation, the exchange of ideas between Africa and America. Traditionally, when America looks to its roots, it unconsciously thinks of itself as the inheritor of a European culture, which we reshaped and made American. But at least eleven percent of our citizens are not of European descent; their heritage is African. And these days many black people are saying that America is ignoring the source of its own strength when it overlooks its African heritage.

These young people are graduating from the Schomburg school in New York. Their gowns are reminiscent of robes worn by medieval scholars in Europe. But the artifact they are holding is a life symbol of African culture. And among the awards they are receiving is the Patrice Lumumba Award. Another is the Malcolm X Manliness Medal, and Malcolm X was an Afro-American above all else.

But most black Americans, and most white Americans, find African ceremonies exotic and little more than that. Arnold Toynbee, who is considered more or less the high priest of Western history, once wrote, "Contributions to civilizations have been made by people of all colors except the black."

Yet, as the black man in America moves closer to the center of our national life, the importance of Africa is growing. About twenty years ago, after World War II, the black African colonies began to receive their independence from Europe. In the words of Harold Macmillan, "the winds of change began to blow through the continent." Most students of contemporary affairs agree that the independence movements in Africa gave rise to much of the spirit behind the black revolution in the United States. The interchange between black America and black Africa is the theme of this broadcast—and another which will follow on August 20th.

Good evening. This is Mike Wallace in Washington. Tonight, we have invited two American and two African leaders to discuss how the civil rights movement, or what is sometimes called the Black Revolution, looks to them, and to see how the similarities and the differences appear in black and white America, and black and white Africa. To bring you their views, we have tied together two continents, Africa and America, by radio and telephone links, and we have filmed the conversation at each point.

First, from Africa, in Nairobi, the Honorable Tom Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning and Development for Kenya, in East Africa. Kenya, after the Mau Mau uprising in the '50's, won its independence from Britain in 1963. Nairobi, the capital, is an attractive city with impressive government buildings. Mr. Mboya lives here on Convent Drive, just a short distance from his Ministry of Economic Planning and Development.

The slogan, "Harambee," means "Let's all pull together" and Kenya has done that so well as a nation, that it is now envied in Africa for its position of stability.

This is the broadcast center of the Voice of Kenya, which houses their television and radio studios, and from which they broadcast in English, Arabic, Swahili and several other African languages. Mr. Mboya will be speaking from the Voice of Kenya studios.

I believe it is afternoon for you in Africa, isn't it Mr. Mboya?

MBOYA. That's right, it's about 3:15 here.

WALLACE. Twenty-six hundred miles west of Nairobi is Ghana and its capital city, Accra. Originally a part of the Gold Coast, Ghana first appeared on the map of Africa in 1957, the first British colony in Africa to gain its independence. Three hundred years ago, across these same beaches, slaves were sold and shipped to the West Indian and American plantations. Today, Accra is a commercial, modern city with a major West African university.

Our second guest is the Vice Chancellor of Ghana University Dr. Alex Kwapong, who is speaking from the studios of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in Accra. Dr. Kwapong, do you read us?

KWAPONG. Yes, yes, I can read you.

WALLACE. I cannot see either Mr. Mboya or Dr. Kwapong, but I'd be curious to know if either one of you is wearing an African—forgive me—costume?

KWAPONG. I'm not wearing an African costume at the moment, because I was instructed specifically—advised that a blue shirt would come off very well.

WALLACE. Well, we are delighted to have you with us on this broadcast.

Now, here in the United States, speaking from our CBS studios in Washington is Democratic Congressman John Conyers of Detroit, Michigan. Mr. Conyers is the Representative of the First Congressional District. He represents some half-million people, 75 per cent of whom are black and 25 per cent white.

I believe that you have met Mr. Mboya, have you not, Congressman Conyers?

CONYERS. I met him in Detroit a number of years ago, and I'm very pleased to be on the program, Mike.

WALLACE. The fourth member of our group is Mr. Floyd McKissick, who has just stepped down as National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, known as CORE. CORE has its headquarters in New York, at 135th Street and Seventh Avenue. Mr. McKissick lives here, in this pleasant brownstone on West 149th Street, on the edge of Harlem.

Have you been able to hear all of the introductions, Mr. McKissick?

MCKISSICK. Yes, I have. I've heard them all and they're coming through loud and clear.

WALLACE. Very good.

MCKISSICK. It's good to be on a program with Mr. Mboya again. We were together at the march for school integration around 1959 and '60.

WALLACE. Well, Mr. Mboya and Dr. Kwapong have a considerable familiarity with the United States. Gentlemen, let me begin by asking this: Is there a sense of kinship between the black African and the black American? Mr. Mboya?

MBOYA. Well, it is inevitable that, because of the color there should be a feeling of kinship, and because of the nature of the problems that they face in the United States and the problems that we have faced in colonial Africa that there should be a feeling of belonging together, and a sense of history and purpose in the struggle that is going on in both continents. Additionally, of course, there is the historical fact that the Negro in the United States, after all, came from Africa. And so, for these reasons there is always this feeling of togetherness and a sense of belonging to a common cause, and to that extent we all feel that this is our struggle as much as it is the struggle of those actively and directly—or immediately involved in it.

CONYERS. I quite agree. Black Americans who were formerly Negro Americans—they were colored, they didn't want to identify with Africa—all of this, I think has been reversed in a relatively few years because of the self-determination theme, the throwing off colonial yokes in Africa, which to me, these winds of freedom have come to America some ten years ago and has contributed very significantly to the civil rights struggle in America.

McKISSICK. The togetherness, as I see it, has actually—has always been there. During the last three years I think with the words of "black power" we have really gone towards black heritage and with the sense of pride and dignity, we have changed and we now have a transformed Negro—a Negro who has been transformed, shall I say, into a black man to date.

CONYERS. Right, Floyd, but that togetherness you're referring to is between black people in this country. Would you say that that togetherness related to Africa and our brothers and sisters, as it were, in Africa?

McKISSICK. Well, I think it's always been in existence. For example, last summer, when I was in Africa, I found myself among friends, among people, in Africa, who for the first time were seeing me, who wanted to take me out take me to the parks, to the zoos, take me into their homes. Really, we had a feeling of togetherness without ever having said anything.

WALLACE. Dr. Kwapong, I'm sure that you had similar experiences in the United States, but the average African, when he comes to this country, does he feel a kinship, or does he see things differently?

KWAPONG. When the average African goes to the United States, I think he discovers that the experiences, the way of living in your big industrial and urban society, is in some cases different from his experiences here in Africa. And of course, he also sees things from the point of view of his own country, I think that tends to lead to some difficulties. Particularly—and I think in the past, where all sorts of erroneous ideas have been put about about conditions in Africa, and there was definitely great ignorance in the United States about Africa, and I think in some respects vice versa here about in the United States.

McKISSICK. I really think that more and more black people in this country need to visit Africa to change their views. We had always been told, for example, all of the generalizations, and all of the mystique of Africa—it had always been called the Dark Continent—and I find that we have many different opinions about each other and these opinions are gradually improving.

CONYERS. That's right.

McKISSICK. —to avoid the stereotypes that both of us have had at times.

WALLACE. Mr. Mboya?

MBOYA. During my very first visit to the United States around 1956, I found that this general ignorance of Africa was shared between the whites and the black Americans. And to some extent, one might say that in those days, perhaps the black American did not feel very much identified with the African and there was this feeling of superiority, or whatever you like to call it. Because of the nationalist struggle in Africa, most of the black Americans have become conscious and aware of Africa, and because of our achievements in independence and since independence, more of the black Americans have come to accept Africa and even to look at Africa with pride and seek to be identified.

CONYERS. Dr. Kwapong, is it not true, as I have been advised by a recently returned black American from Africa, that in at least some quarters there is a new-found respect for black Americans as a result of the disruptions and uprisings that have occurred in a number of cities across America very recently.

KWAPONG. Oh, yes, I think that's quite correct. I myself have noticed this tremendous change in atmosphere since the first time I went—I came to the States in 1961 as against this year or last year. I think there is no doubt that the average black American is now gaining in greater self-confidence and I think self-respect. Because obviously, the events of the past six years have added greater dignity to the black American.

**MBOYA.** The African is looking to—rather at things as they are now happening in America with a great deal of encouragement, because essentially he feels that achievements in the civil rights struggle will bring closer the day of total liberation for all the colored people—or the black people—throughout the world. We have always stated that our independence cannot be complete if, in fact, there is any part of the world where the black man is not accorded his rightful position in society and the opportunities that go with it.

Now, my second observation is this: I do not share the views of those who would like—who think that the black man's place is in Africa. I think the black man must look outward and his place is in the world—not just in one continent—but all over the world. His culture and his institutions are things which can be exported and it is in this kind of relationship that we can really make our contributions. And it is the more positive relationship that I am thinking of all the time myself.

**CONYERS.** But may I point out, Dr. Mboya, that one of the great difficulties with the black man in America, unlike any ethnic group that has come here to this more or less melting pot, is that the black man in America has had no roots. We can't go back to any part of Africa and say this is where our ancestors came from. The black man in America can't answer the question that is assuming greater sociological and psychological importance: Who am I? He has been in the past rootless, he's been without a culture, he has no background.

**McKISSICK.** Yes, every other group that came to this country—the Italians came here, and they could always look back to Italy. The Chinese could always look to China and the Japanese could look to Japan and the French could look to France, and they had language ties, and they had the ties that bind. Whereas we came over as slaves. We had no language. The language—we were forced to learn a language, we were forced to accept the hot dog. It may be a good thing, the hot dog, but it was not our creation, and we were not really a part of it. And we have an impressed culture upon us. It's quite important that black kids really know that they are somebody, that they do have some ties on the other part of the world, that they—they too, are part of that great country known as Africa. They must get that heritage, and they must identify. And that is what makes them a people.

**CONYERS.** We've been unable in this country to even get the history of black people in this country and Africa—

**McKISSICK.** Absolutely.

**CONYERS.** Taught to young people. This has been one of the big struggles in the civil rights movement.

**McKISSICK.** Quite true. It's not in the schools. It's not being taught.

**CONYERS.** It's been suppressed, it's been distorted.

**McKISSICK.** That's right.

**CONYERS.** It's been eliminated, and as a result young black people grow up, particularly in the North, with absolutely no contact. I went through high school, colleges, law school, and the only information I learned about black America and Africa was extracurricular reading on my own part. This we're trying to change, and I think this distinguishes the outlook of an African in Africa from a black American in America. One of the responses that we always hear from an American who has gone to Africa, when he comes back he says it's tremendous to see over there black people running the government, black people in control of business—

**McKISSICK.** That's right.

**CONYERS.** And it's a new feeling that is very very rarely felt, if ever, here in America. And I think that we should understand that this is a very, very deep difference that is now being bridged by this new trend toward recognizing our relationships. That's why you see such indicia of natural hairdos and tikis now, and African garments, and even the language, all now coming into a new prominence, because black Americans are now able to identify, proudly, with the concept of blackness, which is really a very new development.

**WALLACE.** Speaking of the concept of blackness, one who has pushed that concept and popularized the phrase "black power" is Stokely Carmichael. He has visited Africa. What do Africans think of him?

**MBOYA.** There are many people who have not heard of him except those of us who read newspapers and who are very much concerned with the goings on in other countries, and I believe that some of his statements have aroused a great deal of interest in East Africa. But I wouldn't say that there is any particular view about Carmichael.

**WALLACE.** Dr. Kwapon?

KWAPONG. I would say the same, except that I think that one might partly add that they do realize that the militants like Carmichael and Rap Brown are, however uncomfortably one may put it, are still doing a necessary job for the United States, in shocking people out of their complacency into seeing the acuteness of the racial problems that exist. But there is no special view taken of these people in West Africa.

CONYERS. May I ask Mr. Mboya a question, please?

WALLACE. Yes, John.

CONYERS. Mike, my question is: Based on your travels, both here and in Africa, Mr. Mboya, do you consider the African to be more informed of the struggles and the condition of black Americans or do you consider black Americans to have more information about Africans?

MBOYA. Well, it's very difficult to determine how much each side knows, but perhaps there is more—or greater knowledge, among the black Americans about the African struggle than the African knows about the conditions under which the black American lives.

KWAPONG. I would like to contract you there, Mr. Mboya. I think the experience is the opposite here in Ghana. I think in West Africa, or in Ghana, for instance, I would say from my own experience that people know more of what's going on in the United States than vice versa.

MBOYA. Well, I don't know. I don't know about that. I'm not quite sure about that. I think that when you take the actual conditions that exist in the United States, that few people know how really rough the situation is, except those who have traveled and visited and seen—there is a general feeling that the American society, an affluent society, a developed country, an old democracy, that for that reason, the Negro must be in a better position to defend himself than perhaps we have been in our own situation during the struggle for independence, say, in Kenya.

MCKISSICK. Mr. Mboya?

WALLACE. Mr. McKissick, you have a question you want to put to Mr. Mboya?

MCKISSICK. Yes, I do have one. We black Americans are attempting to put in our schools and colleges, in the curriculums, much information about Africa, it's histories and dynasties, and et cetera. And I'm wondering what, if anything, African nations are doing about their educational systems to include history, or a connecting link in history, of the contributions that black Americans are making?

MBOYA. Since independence, most African countries are now trying to put in their school systems, the program of education that includes languages, cultures and so on. And also the writing of history books by African authors, finding out a lot more about our history than was written by the colonial educators during the colonial period.

MCKISSICK. I'm glad to hear that.

MBOYA. It therefore seems to me that this is one of the areas where the black Americans, especially your educational institutions, and the African nations could very well cooperate, work together to produce this kind of historical information which both sides are very much in need of.

KWAPONG. I think I can add here, you see, in this university, for instance, of which I am the head, the University of Ghana and similar institutions in West Africa and other places, they have the Institute of African Studies. And right now, there is quite a group of American scholars of both colors in Ghana, participating in a course on African history, African languages and general African culture.

WALLACE. Dr. Kwapon, while we are on the subject of education, it seems that of late young people more and more have come into prominence as sources of friction—specifically college students—attacking the social and political establishments in their countries. Has that happened in Ghana as well?

KWAPONG. I wouldn't say in just the same way. They are certainly very interested and they are restive, and I think the general sort of "student hurricane" going around the world, and I'm sure some eddies have reached this country. But at the moment, I think because of probably our own special circumstances the restiveness is a bit muted. And they are much more interested in nation-building, and in making sure that they have an opportunity to participate in the work of reconstructing Ghana. But there is definitely a great awareness and liveliness, and they are very much interested in what is going on. So, I would say that perhaps things are a little bit quiet on this front. Although anything might happen, any day.

WALLACE. What about you, Mr. Mboya? I gather that in London recently, some East African students gave you a little bit of a bad time?

MBOYA. Well, I think that, as I said in London last week, the whole student world is to some extent very uneasy, or affected by the current problems facing the younger generation. I think in a sense it is a reflection on the inadequacy of many of the political and social institutions that have been used in older countries for a long time. I think myself that more time will have to be given to the problem of not just the students but the younger generation.

WALLACE. Mr. Mboya and Dr. Kwapon, a number of African leaders have been educated abroad, you two among them. What attitudes about America do African students come home with? Dr. Kwapon?

KWAPONG. Well, I think one cannot give a stereotyped answer. But it varies, I think, upon the experiences they had. Those who were very well prepared and go to institutions where they were well received, come back with more balanced views than those who go to situations where they encounter discrimination and prejudice. They naturally are not terribly impressed by the dichotomy between protestations on the one hand of equality and actual practice on the other. But what they do come back is a greater sense of realism about the complexity of problems in the United States. They know there are good and bad things there, and they are much more impatient of all the things about the good that America is supposed to be doing to the exclusion of everything else. They know the picture is not as—I mean as clear-cut as all that.

WALLACE. What about African students who go to study at Russian or Chinese Universities? What attitudes about communism, about racism, do they come home with?

KWAPONG. Oh, I think they come back—again without stereotype. But it depends upon the stage of training that they had, the type of background they had before they went. They come back, again understanding the pitfalls and the weaknesses of the Russian situation. In fact, I believe somebody said, that if you send an African to Paris, he come back home a communist. If he goes to Moscow, he comes back home a capitalist.

WALLACE. Gentlemen, if we may, let's talk a moment about women. In the United States, the blacks are said to have an essentially matriarchal society. What about the role of the black woman in Africa?

KWAPONG. Well, its—the role of the woman is all three—everywhere. In fact, the education of the woman is one of the most important factors. Because I think, as Agree of Africa said: "If you educate a woman, you educate a whole nation. But if you educate a man, you only educate an individual." So the education of women is now taken very seriously, and they have an important role to play in all aspects of public as well as private life.

WALLACE. Mr. Mboya, is that same thing true in East Africa or is the . . .?

MBOYA. Well, this is the same, except I would add one point, which is that in our case, and I believe it's the same thing in West Africa, the woman played a very important role during the independence struggle. They made their contribution. And therefore they do have a right to expect the—not only continued participation, but also the benefits that come with independence. Now, looking at the future, as teachers, as people serving in the medical services, and even as statesmen and members of the Legislature, women are demanding a place in this whole sphere of activities. Unlike Europe and other older countries, the woman in Africa does not, in Kenya, in this case, does not have to fight for the right to vote and so on. They were entitled to vote right from the outset, right from the time we got our independence.

WALLACE. Mr. Mboya—Mr. Mboya, what about interracial marriages? Are they frowned upon?

MBOYA. Well, they are not necessarily frowned upon, but they are still looked upon as strange happenings because we live in a society that is primarily tribal, and when people marry outside their race, leave alone marrying outside their tribe, there are bound to be a number of new social problems. These are not because people are against other races, but because the very nature of society and the conditions of life make this a strange happening in a land such as ours at the moment.

WALLACE. Let me change the subject, if I may, and ask a question about religion. Dr. Kwapon, I understand the Moslem religion is growing fast among black Africans. Is that true?

KWAPONG. I think it is growing, but not probably as fast as some people think, certainly in West Africa. I don't think it is gaining any greater converts in the

southern parts of West Africa, for instance. I think here the fact that Christianity was allied with modern types of education seems to—to give Christianity some advantage. But what I would say is that the pattern of Christianity that we had in colonial times is definitely changing as a result of nationalist reactions and, as a result of new—new changes taking place generally in the economic and social development of this area.

**MBOYA.** I think that in Africa today there's a great deal of questioning, asking and debating, of the role of Christianity in the life of the people and the Christian influence. And here we have to distinguish between Christianity as a religion, and Christianity as a means of introducing white so-called European civilization in Africa and there was a lot of confusion on this and there has been for a long time. The missionaries mistook the cultural and social standards that they have had in their own countries for Christianity. And the Africans have rejected this interpretation of Christianity. The African wants Christianity in an African setting.

**CONYERS.** Well, Tom, in America, in the black communities, the church, which has always been an unusually strong and different institution as compared from white society generally, is being re-examined very, very closely. There are now black clergymen and organizations of black ministers who are now relating around this concept and the responsibility of the church to give the kind of crucial leadership that's needed in the freedom movement, so that same kind of re-examination that you pointed to is going on. And there is also a growing antipathy toward the church as an institution in the black community because too frequently, in the past, the leadership of the church has really not been the legitimate black leadership that was so desperately needed, but they were pawns to either other greater religious institutions, or to political institutions within our community. And that day is coming to a very, very rapid halt.

**McKISSICK.** You know, John, it was a Papal decree that allowed the Christian Church, actually the Catholic Church to go into Africa and really try to bring Christianity to the heathens. And I think that decree occurred—the Papal decree—about 14—in the early 1400's that started slavery. And it was upon that theory that the slave routes were built, and this is the reason that we happen to be in the United States, and we have to be dealing with the various problems that we got now.

**CONYERS.** Well, the church as an institution, justified, condoned and actualized the whole system of slavery in this country.

**McKISSICK.** Absolutely.

**CONYERS.** Now there have been some changes. I think we should be fair enough to point out, that there is the beginning of some movement in the church institutions in America to recognize that this question of civil rights and equal opportunity for black Americans has a very basic moral and religious foundation that white America has yet to adjust itself to. I mean, are black men and white men brothers in the Christian sense or are they not? Because, if they are, then there's a great deal of hypocrisy that has got to be addressed in this country with regard to this question. I think that there is the beginning of some movement but it's coming very slowly and with some great difficulty.

**WALLACE.** Gentlemen, I'm sorry that we have to pause for a few seconds now. When we come back though, I'd like to take up with you the black African view of the war in Vietnam, and the problems of racism and anti-Americanism in black Africa.

(Announcement.)

**WALLACE.** Mike Wallace, again. You are watching "Black World," an interconnected broadcast between Africa and the United States. We are examining the similarities and the differences between black Africa and black America. In Kenya, we are speaking with Mr. Thomas Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning and Development. Mr. Mboya attended Oxford University and he has visited America extensively during the last decade. Kenya, born of a revolution, is now a highly democratic nation, typical of many of the states of East Africa.

Dr. Alex Kwapon, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Ghana, is speaking from the studios of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation in Ghana. Dr. Kwapon is a graduate of Cambridge University. He was a visiting professor at Princeton in 1962. And he has also visited the United States several times. Ghana is ruled by a military council. We shall be addressing ourselves to African forms of government during part of this broadcast.

Representative John Conyers, Democrat of Detroit, Michigan is at the CBS studios in Washington, and Mr. Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality is speaking from New York.

Gentlemen, let's talk about the war in Vietnam. What is the African view, the black African view of American participation in that war?

MBOYA. Well, I think that I can generalize on this by saying that the majority, and in fact I haven't met any exceptions myself, the majority are completely against the continuance of the Vietnam war, and the majority do not understand why the Americans are involved in the Vietnam war. The majority feel that this is on the part of the Americans interference in the affairs of the peoples of Southeast Asia. I think that the majority feel that whatever problems there are in Vietnam should be resolved peacefully, and the majority feel that the war should be brought to an end so as to divert resources, and of course the energies of the peoples of that country to develop their own country.

I think that there is no sympathy in a country like Africa for a foreign nation which finds itself at war in a foreign country. This is for obvious reasons. Our history, our own struggle against colonialism, our struggle against white racism, all these go to make for this kind of attitude, which you will find in most African countries.

CONYERS. If you'll permit me to say, Tom Mboya, your description of the general African attitude toward the Vietnam war and America's participation in it is a description that could be carried over for the overwhelming majority of black Americans in this country. Wouldn't you say so, Floyd?

MCKISSICK. Well, I think that that's absolutely correct. We have suffered. Black people themselves have suffered immense casualties out of proportion. We do know, we do feel that is a capitalistic war, and we feel that it is time that we should let countries solve their own problems. And I think that nationalistic feeling that exists in Africa, which is related to the development of the new countries, is the same nationalistic feeling which exists among black people in this country, although black people are not in the majority in the white country. But the feelings and the attitudes and the aspirations are—have quite—are quite the same.

CONYERS. Floyd, let me amplify one of your points to our African brothers. I've had a number of people ask me why, is black America against the war in Vietnam, are their numbers so small in the peace organizations, the demonstrations, the activities against the war. And I think that one of the reasons is that most black Americans—over half of them—are caught up with the day-to-day necessity of trying to exist in a very oppressive economic situation. And they don't have the time, and they're not able to participate in any kind of organized opposition. But I still think that our assessment is still very, very correct.

WALLACE. Mr. Mboya, let's talk about racism in Africa for a moment. In East Africa for instance, among blacks themselves, is there racism, one against the other? Is there such a thing as "the right color," for instance, in your country?

MBOYA. No, there isn't. In fact, the point I think about East Africa, which should be a lesson to many countries, is that despite the pessimism that must have been expressed just before Independence, that the East African countries have managed to eliminate the main causes of racism in East Africa. There is not a single East African country where there is a law that supports in any manner or form racism, or which tolerates racism. In fact, all our laws and constitutions are very clear on this subject.

WALLACE. Mr. Mboya, may I interrupt for just a moment. There was an article in *The New York Times* in March of this year which said that Kenya "is guilty of racial discrimination, and bears heavy responsibility for the mass flight of Asians to London, that aroused the pressure for the immigration bars there. Kenya's drive to put Africans, trained or not, into jobs held by Asians is not only ruthless, but short-sighted and damaging to its own economy."

MBOYA. Well, I'm glad that you raised this point, and I'd like to say straightforwardly that I do not regard *The New York Times* as an authority on this subject; or for that matter, as an authority on African affairs. The point that I want to make is, firstly to give a background to what has taken place, the so-called "Asian exodus." Kenya became independent in 1963, and the first thing that we did was to allow all non-Africans a period of two years in which to decide to register as Kenyan citizens, or to stay in the country as aliens. That period ended in December, 1965. Therefore, at the end of 1965 and the beginning of 1966, we had in Kenya a group of non-Africans, Asians, and Europeans, who had become Kenyan citizens, and others who had decided to remain in Kenya but as aliens.

The second point to make is that those who remained in Kenya as aliens must have understood, right from the start, that the country in its development would, at some stage or another, have to introduce policies that would promote develop-

ment for the citizens of the country. And what happened is that we have introduced legislation which requires that employers in the future, and this is four years after independence, would employ non-Kenyans only if they had a work permit. Now, I believe that this happens in the United States, it happens in Britain, it happens in all the developed countries. And it does not say that Asians only should get the required work permits. Every person, even of African origin, is required to have a work permit if he is not a Kenyan citizen.

I should like to add this piece of information, that when Kenya became independent Britain, on her own accord, decided to give an undertaking to all British passports—passport holders in Kenya that they would have free entry into Britain, as and when they felt like doing so. But recently, Britain decided to introduce a law barring British passport holders—in other words, British citizens of entry into Britain if they were not white people, if they were not of British origin. If therefore there is anyone to be accused of racism I think the accusation is to be directed to London, rather than to Nairobi. This is a very important point to make.

WALLACE. There is though, you will agree, Mr. Mboya, in Kenya social discrimination?

MBOYA. There is no social discrimination by the Kenya government. What we have is the remainder of what used to happen in the colonial period. For example, we used to have separate school, separate hospital facilities and so on. The Kenya government has introduced measures for complete integration of these facilities. What we have is a number of people, or groups—social groups in the country who are resisting such change, and it is the duty of the government, where there is any resistance, to break it down and to insure that full integration is introduced.

Let me deal with this question about the threat to our economy as a result of the departure of some Asians. As Minister for Planning and Development, I can state categorically that the Asians who have left Kenya can be regarded by all of us as "good riddance." In fact, the sooner they leave, the better. We need here men who are committed, men who feel identified to the cause and aspirations of the country. Not those who are going to resist and block our programs for development. And I think the sooner they go, what ever their qualifications, the better.

CONYERS. Mr. Wallace, a question of government to our African panelists.

WALLACE. Yes.

CONYERS. And it concerns a wrong—the observation that democracy, by some of the critics of the newly emerging African governments are having a hard go of making democracy work. And my question turns upon the emergence of one-party political government, of the increase of military governments, and the general notion that democracy as Americans look at it, may not necessarily be the best thing for the African governments going on there.

WALLACE. To whom are you putting the question?

CONYERS. To everybody.

WALLACE. Dr. Kwapon?

KWAPONG. If you have any sort of formal position where you say that because you have this or that institution, therefore a country is democratic. And it was in fact felt that the one-party state was a suitable vehicle for government for Africans. I think that everybody agrees now that that is not correct, but in fact what is needed is a system of government whereby the people—or the country—have a final say in who is ruling them.

MCKISSICK. Amen.

KWAPONG. And that they have the right of dissent. They have, in fact, if their leaders do what they don't want, they can put them out.

MCKISSICK. Amen, again.

KWAPONG. And if you have a one-party state, and you have the trappings of government which is supposed to be democratic, but the people cannot in fact speak their minds freely, the basic freedoms are denied, then I'm afraid you have to have a means of overthrowing this system in order to try to build up a democratic system. That is what is happening, for instance, in most parts of West Africa and other parts of Africa, where you have these military regimes which are transitional because they have to bring their governments back into line with what the people really want. That is proper development and the reflection of the true wishes of the people—in—and—and—freedom of expression and freedom of decision. These are the things which for instance people of this country—in Ghana—have learned to appreciate.

MBOYA. There is this transition that is taking place, but we cannot agree that institutions in Africa should be judged on the basis of whether they are like the American or like the British, or like the French system. I think my own observation is that the American institutions leave so much to be desired. And so do the British institutions, with their debate about the House of Lords and so on.

McKISSICK. And I would think—

MBOYA. We must do our own experiments here and get the institutions better suited to our circumstances.

McKISSICK. Tom, I would like to add something to what you said. I really don't see too much difference between the problems of the people of Kenya, and the problems of black people in this country. We really got the same problems.

CONYERS. A very brief distinction, Mr. McKissick, because in Kenya, the government there is totally committed to the eradication of racism. It is totally devoted, according to Mr. Mboya, the Minister there, it's totally devoted to the developing principles consistent with democracy. And I draw a great distinction between the development of the people in Kenya toward a democratic form of government, and the very oppressive circumstances which still obtain for black people in this country today.

McKISSICK. I get your point. All we're trying to say, is don't give us a word like democracy and tell us—and really tell us what democracy means in beautiful language, and then put a thing on us called racism, or a bag on us called white culture, without allowing us to develop and decide upon the kind of system, the kind of society we want and to develop our own black thing. In this country, here is one point that must stand out, and it stands out the world over. That I'm a black man first. I was taught I was a black man first by this so-called white society. I was punished because I was black. And I think that I've got to be a black man first in order to succeed. And I think the Kenyans have got to be for Kenya first.

WALLACE. Gentlemen, one last question: anti-Americanism. Just how bad is it in black Africa?

MBOYA. I think the point is firstly that most of the people in Africa feel that the Americans have not made—and by this you need to distinguish between the American government and the American people—the American government has not made a real effort to understand Africa. Let us take one good example here. Your Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk. He's been in office, for nearly—I think it is 10 years. I don't believe he's ever made an effort to visit any part of Africa. There may be an explanation to this, but it just goes to show that when a very senior member of the government does not find the continent of Africa of any real interest and concern, that people are bound to wonder whether the policies there are based on a deeper knowledge and understanding of Africa.

Then we have questions like South Africa. There is a feeling in Africa that the American government could do much more in the South African situation than she has dared do. We feel that the American government could influence the situation more, and even, actively participate or intervene. We have the question of Rhodesia, and again here there is still the feeling that much more could be done by the United States.

KWAPONG. There is no doubt, certainly about southwest Africa, or South Africa, that the American government has really never come out forthrightly on the side of what can be considered to be just and proper, for the peoples of this continent.

CONYERS. The United States puts one-half of one per cent of its gross national product into foreign aid, and only two per cent of that goes to Africa. When you take this consideration, and the way we ignore the oppressive racism growing out of South Africa, Rhodesia, West Africa, Mozambique—I think we all have to agree that the Commission on Civil Disorders used relatively mild language when they recently found that America is still essentially a racist society. And I think we have to take that into consideration when we really appreciate the mutuality of the struggle of the Freedom Movement in America for black people, and the struggle to get our government to merely send the Secretary of State to Africa, to merely begin to put black Americans into greater prominence into the African bureau of the State Department, to end racism in employment in America, to provide jobs for the black Americans in our ghettos where the sub-employment rate is somewhere near 30 to 40 per cent in our big cities.

I think this addresses itself to a very, very serious problem which for all practical purposes, I am ashamed to say, is being ignored. The Commission on

Civil Disorders Report said that this is an urgent problem that needs attention, and the Congress and the Executive of this country have literally done nothing. We have ignored the Poor People's Crusade in Washington, we've just dispersed them, sentenced their leaders and people to jail. And we here in America have to begin to recognize that the foundation on which this country was built is in serious trouble, if we don't begin to do much more about this question of relating to Africa, and these growing countries' needs and the problems of black people in America.

WALLACE. Gentlemen, we have come to the end of our hour, and I thank you all for participating. Thank you very much, Congressman John Conyers in Washington; Floyd McKissick in New York; Tom Mboya in Nairobi, Kenya; and Dr. Alex Kwapong in Accra, Ghana.

We have been listening to some good and interesting talk between black Africans and black Americans. On another level, CBS News has just finished an interesting experiment. We sent three young black Americans to Africa, and we watched what their reactions were. Gail Harris, 17 years old. Mattie Johnson—also 17. Stephen Adams—same age. All from Washington, D.C. They did many of the usual things, like tourists everywhere. They saw old stones, and new ones, and they tried to puzzle out what they meant. The young people experienced what is known as "cultural shock." One of them said, "There's no pizza in Ghana."

But then, slowly, through taste and distaste, their value systems began to sort out each new experience and just as millions of other Americans have visited Europe in search of their roots, so these young people found that their African heritage reinforced their American beliefs. In the customs of Ghana, they saw echoes of life in black America. "In Search of a Past" is a counterpart of sorts to the conversation you have just heard. And on August 20th, CBS News will bring you "In Search of a Past" as part of this series, *Of Black America*.

This is Mike Wallace. Good night.

[From the Washington Star, July 3, 1968]

**CRITIC'S VIEW—NEGRO HISTORY SERIES OFF TO IMPOSING START**  
(By Rick Du Brow)

HOLLYWOOD.—"Of Black America," CBS-TV's seven-part series about Negro history, arrived last night. Much of the first hour was devoted to how the film industry helped to create a Negro stereotype. It was one of the most devastating broadcasts television ever has shown.

A major reason for the impact was the narration of the on-camera host, Bill Cosby. Using a notable script by Andrew Rooney and Perry Wolff, his masterful, informal approach opened up a new dimension in the narration of television documentaries.

With a total lack of affectation, Cosby's matter-of-fact, good-natured, personal communication to viewers only made his obvious underlying sadness more powerful, and the total effect was overwhelming.

**NOT A DISTANT VOICE**

It was, you might say, people-to-people narration, rather than some distant Olympian voice intoning the pretty words of an impersonal documentary. And it helped to get the series, which is "tracking the history of the Negro and relating it to his place in the United States," off to an imposing start. The second program, next Tuesday, will concern black servicemen from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam.

Last night's opening broadcast dealt not only with the film stereotype, but the little-known achievements by Negroes and the psychological effects on Negro children who have had little chance to develop the pride of identity because of past treatment of black history.

Once again, by the way, a major television series was not interrupted by commercials. The Institute of Life Insurance last week followed the same practice in its three-part CBS-TV series about the urban crisis. And, like the institute, last night's sponsor, Xerox Corp., made a point of relating business corporations to the problems in the world around us.

**"CAN YOU BLAME US"**

There were several riveting sequences last night about the effect on children of an absence of pride, identity and dignity. One showed how these factors emerged

in drawings by youngsters. Another, utterly fascinating, took us to an Afro-American pre-school in Philadelphia where a teacher—giving children a sort of emotional protection—made them stand before him and taunted them purposely until they shouted back their pride in being black.

After this sequence, Cosby, referring to the entire broadcast's tracing of attitudes toward Negroes, said: "Can you blame us for over-compensating?"

The passages of film clips from old movies that we have often enjoyed were painful when looked at from the viewpoint of the Negro. Aside from "Birth of a Nation"—well known for its outright anti-Negro feelings—there were the movies that seemed more innocent but everlastingly portrayed the Negro man as a comical coward, lazy and dumb and of course servile.

As for the Negro women who always played those loyal, reliable, trustworthy maids, Hattie McDaniel who won an Oscar for "Gone With the Wind," once explained it this way: She said she had two choices in Hollywood—she could either play the part of a maid for \$7,000 a week, or be one for \$7.

The program noted how the cycle has changed so that we have new stereotypes, like Sidney Poitier, who—as the script put it—is always helping little old ladies across the street, whether or not they want to be helped. In short, the compensating process is revealed again. And what last night's broadcast was trying to do, of course, was bridge the gap so that the whole concept of having to compensate in such matters may soon be a relic of history.

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[From the Washington Post, July 4, 1968]

#### RADIO AND TELEVISION—"BLACK AMERICA" SERIES SHATTERS CLICHES

(By Lawrence Laurent)

**REVIEW.**—Bill Cosby concluded the first of seven programs called "Of Black America" (CBS, Channel 9) with a flat, friendly statement about the American Negro: "From now on we're going to play it black and American—because we're proud."

This was a fitting conclusion for a long exposition on the grief and agony the black man has found as he pursued the white man's dreams. Part of the problem, through the years, has been that "Black History" has been "Lost, Strayed or Stolen."

It was a program that was blunt. To some it had the impact of a slap in the face. Systematically, the earnest cliches were trotted out and shattered. This began with the truncated version of the black man's history, continued through the patronizing stereotypes of the entertainment business and ended with pre-school youngsters being trained to parrot such phrases as "I am black and beautiful" and "My nationality is Afro-American."

The children were students at a different version of "Operation: Headstart." This one is operated in an abandoned store by a dedicated young man named John Churchville. Cosby mused that the teaching technique was "kinda like brainwashing."

This he saw as "overcompensating," a required "sin of pride" that is close to the Greek word, "hubris."

Any person who studies the ratings reports by which television executives are determined to live and die knows that the smallest audiences in prime time are attending the CBS Tuesday night non-fiction programs. These consistently rank at the bottom in listings of programs in order of popularity.

Those few, however, who did turn away from the escapist drama were richly rewarded for their efforts. "Of Black America" shows great promise of being honest, both to its subject matter and to the needs of the late 1960s.

C. Peter McColough, president and chief executive of the sponsoring Xerox Corp., made plain in an opening statement that control of the program's content rests with CBS News. He said the purpose of the six one-hour and one half-hour programs are to "enlighten and inform, and to help change attitudes."

If other programs equal the quality of this week's premiere, McColough just might achieve his purpose.

Cosby, using the firmly understated script by Andred A. Rooney and Vern Diamond, carefully documented the well justified compliants of a black man, who must compete with the images that white society has created of black men.

He showed the influence of African art on such honored artists as Picasso and

Modigliana and commented: "When you look at this copying you've got to give us more than rhythm. You've got to give us style."

The most acerbic comments were reserved for the Hollywood film makers, who—starting with D. W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation," 50 years ago—persistently had the black man portrayed as a "boy," a menial, who stole chickens, shot chickens, shot craps and was afraid of lions, gorillas, ghosts or skeletons.

In Hollywood's comedy shorthand a frightened Negro "turned white" on the screen.

Cosby offered something less than awe and reverence for a black actor by the name of Lincoln Theodore Andrew Perry who made \$2 million working in motion pictures. His professional name is Stepin' Fetchit, who played drawling, indolent, ignorant characters and, said Cosby: "Too bad he was so good at it."

Radio projected the unfortunate black stereotypes even further with two white men playing "Amos 'n' Andy."

Television picked up the show, using black men who couldn't quite master the English language. (The Kingfish declined about "exter cuticle activities" and issued "a ultimato."

"The new stereotype," said Cosby, is embodied in actor Sidney Poitier, usually seen "helping some old ladies across the street—whether they want to go or not."

A hundred years of mass media conditioning spelled out for the black man that he wasn't going to enjoy the abundance of this acquisitive society "unless he joins the white world." It led, he added, to a point where "a rich black cat took the rich white cat's dream."

For some complacent viewers, the theme contained in "Of Black America" may be unpleasant. For others, however, the message is clear and it is needed.

[From the New Republic, July 27, 1968]

#### TELEVISION—HOW TO SURVIVE THE SCHOOLMARDS

The black teacher (imperiously): "Now I am your teacher and I say that you are a Negro."

The four-year-old boy (passionately): "No, I'm Afro-American!"

The teacher goes on examining one child after another. "Are you a boy?"

"No, I'm a man; I'm black and I'm beautiful!"

"When do you want your freedom?"

"Now!"

"We can't give it to you this week. Can't you wait until next week?"

"No! I want my freedom now!"

"What is freedom?"

"Freedom is black power!"

"What's black power?"

"I don't know."

"Don't use words you don't understand."

Probably no one who witnessed the first program of a CBS series called *Of Black America* will ever be able to look at a black child without having that scene come to mind. A liberal accustomed to regarding black children with some of the fondness he feels for his own may, after seeing this broadcast, be uncomfortably aware that much more than the triumph of the political and economic policies he supports will be required for black children to be able one day to become autonomous men.

Anyone who has seen what happens to Negro children in public schools will not be disposed to doubt the need for the Spartan indoctrination practiced in the storefront freedom school seen on the July 2 broadcast, a school set up in Philadelphia by the black teacher, John Churchville, to prepare children for public schools. Along with the rudiments of the New Math the children are acquiring the fortitude they will need to withstand the browbeating, the cajoling, the seductive flattery, all the ego-crushing manipulation they're bound to encounter later on at public school. They're warned that the schoolteachers are not going to like their independent attitudes, and that maybe their grades will suffer as a result. "But grades are not important," the teacher tells them; "what is important is to be an honest and truthful man or woman."

It is troubling to think what little infant delight, unselfconscious childhood, and easy *complaisance* these four-year-olds are renouncing. But it is far more painful to see what the public schools do to all future possibility of children

who can be alienated from self and from blackness by dancing to the teacher's tune, or doomed to failure by mute resistance to her. Steeling his charges against the schoolmarm's straightening-irons, Churchville is proposing a covenant with time. It will be hard going for these children, and for many of the teachers they encounter, but in the end they could be the leaven for a generation that will not need such armoring.

The need for the indoctrination at this moment in history was made plain in the earlier part of the broadcast, a compilation of scene after scene of the degradation of the Negro by the mass media, the castration of the black man and the moronization of the black woman, in industrialized folklore from *Birth of a Nation* to Bert Wheeler to Aunt Jemima to Stepin Fetchit and on down to Amos 'n' Andy, a flood of images of the Negro emasculated by Hollywood which Americans past thirty had once accepted unquestioningly. To see clearly in front of one's adult eyes images implanted decades ago and still lurking far down in the medulla oblongata was jarring: each bug-eye, each stammer, each shuffle, a slap in the face. One began to get a glimpse of the depth and pervasiveness of one's own conditioned racism, as well as, of course, some notion of the destructive effects the stereotypes must have had on black people.

The program, called *Negro History: Lost, Strayed, or Stolen*, was the most powerful piece of TV journalism so far on the matter of race in America, and perhaps the best documentary in television's short history. The narrative, delivered by Bill Cosby with a presence that met James Baldwin's definition of Soul as sincerity of performance, was the best piece of writing I've encountered in a documentary; colloquial yet precise, it sustained a rare tone of indignation and chagrin muted into irony. Andrew Rooney and Perry Wolff, who collaborated on the script, successfully resisted the subject's temptations to sensationalize. The finely written and restrained narrative was almost superfluous, so forceful were the pictures.

No concern with words or pictures or reality was evident in the premiere of ABC's *A Time for Americans*, a series of six hour-long programs on race in America. In a shoddy, inept and cynical attempt to appear to be "doing something" toward bridging the gap between the races, the network put Lena Horne, Harry Belafonte, Dr. Alvin Poussaint and writer Larry Neill together in a studio to talk about "The Negro and the Mass Media," with a white newsman sitting in. Poussaint's and Neill's attempts at dialogue were, as one might have expected, frustrated by Belafonte and Miss Horne, who preferred to speak in monologic spurts. The show biz stars enunciated with an evangelical fervor articles of faith set down well before their conversion by the vanguard of the movement. Delighted to be in the trenches, Belafonte seemed eager to recite the entire litany. In his rush to reiterate all the points made in a *New York Times* article under his name, he seemed unable to make a coherent appraisal of any relation between the Negro and the mass media. One wondered what the silent white interlocutor was doing there—was he perhaps a token audience, to keep the entertainers from straying into any serious talk with Dr. Poussaint or Neill?—until Poussaint, slipping a word in, began to propose a black boycott of TV advertisers reluctant to integrate commercials and programs, whereupon the newsman spoke up and quickly got him off the subject. The only thing one learned from the program was that Miss Horne and Belafonte openly approve the aspirations of blacks. Yet as Dr. Poussaint had mentioned in the program, whites tend to consider Lena Horne and Harry Belafonte not as representative Negroes but as exceptions, an attitude surely not discounted by the producers. One hopes the rest of the series will be more enlightening.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ed Dowling.

[From *Newsweek*, July 15, 1968]

#### THE RACE RACE

As any steady viewer can deduce, this is the Summer of the Negro or, as some black cynics have dubbed it, "the race race." Networks, educational television and dozens of local stations are beaming a barrage of black-oriented series and specials that, for the most part, allow the Negro himself to tell it like it is.

Bill Cosby and a CBS documentary crew told it brilliantly last week in the first of a seven-part series called "Of Black America." In a sometimes humorous,

sometimes exasperating, sometimes chilling hour, narrator Cosby and writer-producers Andrew Rooney and Perry Wolff examined the outrageously distorted picture of Negroes reflected in the history books and movies. Along the way they dispensed some historical footnotes: the first man to stand on the North Pole was Admiral Peary's Negro navigator; four black regiments accompanied Teddy Roosevelt's charge up San Juan Hill. "They didn't get lost going up the hill," deadpanned Cosby. "They got lost in the history books."

Hollywood, of course, made the Negro somewhat more visible—but as a shiftless, stupid-crap-shooting, chicken-stealing buffoon. With a horrifying pastiche of film clips, Cosby traced this systematic denigration, from D. W. Griffith's pro-KKK "The Birth of a Nation" to Stepin Fetchit's shuffling sloth and the patronizing exploitation of dancer Bill "Bojangles" Robinson.

#### PALSIED SLAVE

In passing, Cosby exposed such unlikely villians as Shirley Temple movies. Little Shirley was shown receiving a worshiping delegation of plantation hands in the middle of her birthday party ("Miss Virgie . . . Miss Virgie . . . Please ma'am, we all done come here and wish you many happy . . .") and bravely awaiting the imminent arrival of the Yankees while a palsied slave cowered behind her ("Oh, Honey-chile them Yankees is might powerful . . . They can even change the weather").

A visit to a black-militant pre-kindergarten class in Philadelphia closed the hour with sobering force. To instill racial pride and courage in the tots, Negro teacher John Churchville played the role of a white authority figure attempting to impose white attitudes. The 4-year-olds poignantly resisted his badgering, with drilled responses in which they rejected not only the term "Negro" ("I'm an Afro-American") but refused to be called boys ("I'm a young man").

Brainwashing? Cosby conceded as much but he concluded: "Can you blame us for overcompensating? Three hundred years we been in this American melting pot and we ain't melted yet. That's a long wait." Other broadcasts in the series—sponsored by Xerox without commercial interruptions—will profile the Negro soldier, musician and sports figure and tag along with three black teenagers from Washington on a psyche-shattering visit to Kenya.

#### DISSECTION

ABC's six-part entry in the race, "Time for Americans," will focus on racism in all its subtle forms. For the opening show, a Negro panel dissection of bias in the media, the network chose some panelists (Lena Horne, Harry Belafonte) more for celebrity than expertise. Yet an articulate Belafonte scored points when he ridiculed the white-controlled media for overinterpreting the black psyche without really listening to it. "Don't give us 7 a.m. in the morning and don't give us five-minute blurbs and don't bring us on this kind of talk show," said Belafonte. "Permit black passion, permit black ideology, permit black interpretation to have as equal an opportunity to express itself as white interpretation." The second installment, which will be aired this Thursday, presents six white representatives of the media doing their own soul-searching.

Meanwhile, an NBC team is taping a music-and-comedy special called "Soul," which is expected to become a weekly network series following its airing this fall. NBC's big act, however, is a still-untitled, four-part series on the urban Negro scheduled to open Sept. 13.

Inevitably, some cynics question the sincerity of television's new racial consciousness. True, the networks are taking a minor ratings risk by airing most of the shows in the summer, when audience size can slip as much as 50 per cent. Others view the trend as a form of TV tokenism aimed at keeping the summer cool. "We burn down three more cities, and I'll be president of CBS," quips Negro comic Godfrey Cambridge.

#### MYSTIQUE

A more serious charge focuses on the fact that most of the news shows are written, produced and directed by whites; of the seven senior producers for CBS's "Of Black America," for example, none is a Negro (seven do hold lesser staff positions). In defense, the networks point to their training programs for Negro production people, though one network (ABC) starts those without college degrees as stock boys. This doesn't sit well with Louis Potter, the 30-year-old

Negro editor of NET's "Black Journal." "A false mystique has arisen about the skills needed to work on TV," claims Potter. "I know of no field where on-the-job training is as fruitful—and this means people without any skills to begin with."

Journal, a monthly TV news magazine that was launched recently to warn notices, is supervised by a white producer itself, but nine of its fifteen staffers are Negroes. The show aims directly at the black audience: forthcoming segments will range from leadership shifts in CORE and SNCC to an examination of sickle cell anemia, a fatal disease occurring in Negroes—and one of the genetic differences between blacks and whites.

Perhaps the blackest new show on the tube is "Black Dignity" on San Francisco's KGO-TV. Some instalments open with a notice that requests "White man tune out—this is for black people only." Produced entirely by Negroes with a call-in format. "Dignity" taps the ghetto for its power. On a recent segment, producer-moderator Don Warden drew hundreds of approving calls when he proposed that each of the U.S.'s 300,000 black churches send one young person to college.

Warden's approach antagonizes the militants, who feel he's denigrating his race by suggesting that blacks play white games (e.g., going to college). Huey Newton, the jailed Black Panther leader, has described him as "the worst kind of black man." But Warden, a slight, University of California law graduate, is committed to his course. "Our only hope for survival is in education," he says. "That's what the program is all about—to let the black community discover what it can do."

#### STOOP NEWS

The spate of such shows has transformed a few into "instant" TV personalities. In Los Angeles, 29-year-old Negro newscaster Charles Brown finds himself scurrying between his KFWB radio program, a KABC-TV news and variety show moderated by pro-footballer Rosey Grier, and "Black Perspective," a news-interview show on KCET-TV. Detroit's Don Haney, a former black staff announcer on local radio, now presides over an open-end talk show called "Haney's People." And Chicago's Jim Tilmon, a Negro pilot for American Airlines, moonlights as emcee of "Our People" on the city's educational-TV outlet. "The important thing is to find a guy with a presence of black masculinity," says Boston executive producer Donald Fouser. "No Walter Cronkites in blackface."

The white, middle-class Fouser may have the most imaginative community-oriented experiment of all in "Say Brother," a weekly show that starts in Boston this Thursday. Among "Say Brother's" features: a spotlight on a Negro neighborhood's "block of the week," a review of the African press and "stoop news" ("What's being whispered around the ghetto"). Fouser hopes the show will grow into a herald of social reform. "'Say Brother' may call rent strikes," he says "or embarrass City Hall by following garbage trucks around as they pick up every third can."

#### POSITIVE

Black aspirations got a further boost late last week when the Federal Communications Commission announced that it will not renew licenses of any broadcaster guilty of racial discrimination. As part of the new policy, the FCC will require all stations seeking license renewals to show they are taking positive action to promote employment and programing aimed at minority groups.

The culmination of the race race may lead, in fact, to the creation of a TV esthetic belonging to Negroes alone—by, about and for them. Who knows, they might even put together a special called "Of Whilte America." As CBS producer Perry Wolff envisions it: "The real breakthrough will come when blacks do a show on whites. That's when the Negro will finally come aboard."

[From the Congressional Record, June 13, 1968]

NEGRO RESEARCH MATERIALS IN PHILADELPHIA, HON. HUGH SCOTT, OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1968

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the kind of information contained in an article published in the Philadelphia City Archives News Letter of February 1968, deserves as wide dissemination among the public as possible. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that the article, "Negro Research Materials in Philadelphia," be printed following my remarks.

Our history books do a credible job of recording what white Americans have contributed to society as we know it today. But most of them overlook the achievements of the Negro American. Throughout our country, Negroes are asking for realistic and thorough recognition of their role in history.

I have sponsored a bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture, S. 2979. It would encourage the dissemination of existing data on the role of the Negro in history and would stimulate original research.

I am pleased to point to the city of Philadelphia as a good place to begin.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**"NEGRO RESEARCH MATERIALS IN PHILADELPHIA**

**"(By Maxwell Whiteman)**

"(Maxwell Whiteman is the Historian and Archivist of the Union League of Philadelphia. He is well known for his work in many aspects of Philadelphia history. A few words are in order about his special competence in the particular subject which he discusses in this article. He published his important *A Century of Fiction By American Negroes* in 1955. He has contributed articles to numerous journals on the subject of Negro history over the years and he has been instructing teachers in the Philadelphia school system on Negro history for their use in their own teaching.)

"The sources for the study of Negro history are to be found in every major library, historical society and university and public archives in Philadelphia. This brief guide is limited to manuscript materials, documents, and newspapers and is focused upon the Philadelphia Negro. A number of major collections such as those at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are readily accessible under the subject headings of Slavery, Africa, Anti-Slavery, Abolition and Negro. In most instances, the materials for Negro history must be mined from general collections, but very few collections are catalogued in sufficient detail and data on outstanding Philadelphia Negroes is not easily found from the catalogues and indexes. Material on such men as James Forten, William Whipper, Robert Purves, Octavius Catto or other 19th century notables requires searching in a massive body of records in a number of institutions. The study of the origins of the present-day civil rights movement also requires the examination and culling of many collections to reconstruct the history of a century of conflict. In this sense the requirements in researching in Negro history do not differ from those in many fields.

"If we are to use early Negro leaders as examples of "free men of color" hammering out their own ideas, their own programs, and their own destiny against a background of adversity, we must comprehend the precise conditions in which they lived. Problems confronting the investigator of the Philadelphia Negro are to determine population, areas of residence, mobility, voting habits, reactions to slavery, colonization, mutual aid movements, and a variety of similar problems that comprise the dramatic history of Negro life in Philadelphia. Fortunately, many of these can be solved in part from existing sources. The carefully organized collections of the City Archives, located at City Hall, are basic sources for the Federal period and without which no dimensional picture of the early Philadelphia Negro is possible. Three categories of tax records contribute much to our knowledge and their value manifests itself to the researcher at first sight. The first group, catalogued under the title of County Tax Assessment Ledger (1779-1854), but particularly those for the period prior to 1818, awaits the exploration of its 174 volumes. Similar in value, although less extensive, are the 10 volumes, *Enumeration of Taxables*. Lists of slaves are co-mingled with the names of taxables, and race and occupation designations make clear the value of these volumes for the years (1821, 1828, 1835) for which they exist. The third group of related records are the Poor Tax Registers (1819-1847) in 56 volumes with their use facilitated by indexes. The two volumes of *Constable Returns* (1775, 1780), although un-indexed, are a key to the old City wards, a foundation for the study of householders' names and occupations and a guide in determining the "free people of colour" in the pre-City Directories era. These sources can be used to determine the colored population, slave and free, prior to the first census of 1790. The early City Directories beginning with 1785 are a useful supplement to this research. Many, although not all, of the directories indicate with some type of symbol those persons identified as Negroes. Census records are an indispensable supplement to the tax records in the Archives.

"Horace Binney, as Judge of Elections, in 1815 ruled that a free black native of Pennsylvania who paid the same tax as the rest of the population was entitled to vote and there was no dissent to this decision. Election Returns which survive for this period (1820-1858), incomplete as they are, provide information concerning the first Negro voters in Philadelphia. The returns are broken down by ward so that valuable demographic and political data can be ascertained. However, the Negro's right to vote in Pennsylvania was shortlived, since the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1838 rescinded the franchise for its black citizens, the same year that Congregation Mikveh Israel of Philadelphia petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the nation's capital. Reverend Samuel Williams of the African Methodist Episcopal Church bitterly recalled his rejection from the polls as a factor that motivated his sailing for Liberia. The Public Documents Section of the Free Library of Philadelphia contains what is undoubtedly the finest collection of statutory sources, and legislative material affecting the Negro is best obtained there. The earliest and more obscure volumes of this type are available at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Library Company of Philadelphia as well as at the Bar Association Law Library.

"The papers of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, begun in 1774 under the leadership of Benjamin Franklin, are a significant collection. The catalogue title at the H.S.P. is somewhat misleading as the collection, which comprises more than 50,000 items, encompasses a broader aspect of Negro affairs than the title indicates. This collection is a fundamental source for any study of slavery, manumission, fugitive slaves and the underground railroad. The door to the study of Asiatic slavery is flung open. Slaves from Java, Batavia and other islands of the Pacific brought to Philadelphia on American vessels present an aspect which has received scant attention in comparison to the overwhelming context of African slavery. Hardly a thread of Negro life is untouched in this collection. Education and the many schools founded by and for Negroes, mutual aid and self-improvement societies, and their social life and inner life can be gleaned from these papers.

"William Still, author of the monumental *The Underground Railroad* is represented in a series of journals and letters at the Historical Society which contain the kernel for a needed monograph about this man who zealously worked for the right to admit Negroes to public accommodations following the Civil War. Again and again the names of Forten, Whipper, Burleigh, Gibbons, Gloucester, Shad and others appear, many of them involved in the Negro Convention Movement (1828-1835) which sought to challenge the views of the Colonization Society, whose own papers are at Lincoln University and whose pamphlets are at the H.S.P. and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

"Hundreds of Quaker journals, account books, diaries and personal correspondence among the almost seven million items in the collections of the H.S.P. are a fruitful field for investigation of items of local Negro history. The American Negro Historical Society papers (1790-1901) at the H.S.P. are a direct source, covering the broad spectrum of Negro activities, ranging from notes on Benjamin Banneker, astronomer, clock-maker and publisher of almanacs to the first Negro baseball clubs among its 3,000 items presented to the H.S.P. by Leon Gardiner. It is particularly rich in ephemera not found in most Negro collections elsewhere. The manuscript collections of the American Philosophical Society provide useful information on the anti-slavery movement in unexpected places such as the papers of Robert Hare, the early Philadelphia chemist, or J. Peter Lesley, geologist, and other active participants in the movement. The Library Company of Philadelphia has similar but no less important collections. The McCallister papers, the Granville Sharp, Dillwyn, Emlen, and Belknap letters all concern themselves with slavery. Samuel George Morton, 19th century anthropologist and craniologist, left behind notes concerning the Negro which cast light on attitudes in that era. The magnificent Rush collection at the Library Company provides information on the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1793 and introduces the student to the controversy concerning the role of the Negro in that epidemic described by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones. Also at the Library Company is an outstanding pamphlet collection concerning the Philadelphia anti-bellum Negro, his Civil War activities, the Freedman's Bureau and those aspects of municipal reform and human rights that are relevant. Corresponding material can be found at the library of the University of Pennsylvania and the H.S.P. and all three hold that comprehensive collection of pamphlets issued by the Union League of Philadelphia between 1863 and 1865 germane to the anti-slavery mood and the recruitment of colored troops. Often overlooked are the Stephen Girard papers at Girard College

relative to data on the slave trade and the Negro in the 1793 Yellow Fever epidemic, and the record of the Society of Friends (*Arch Street*) concerning educational work among Negroes, and the Friends' Freedman's Association (1836-1935).

"Negro church papers which began with Richard Allen and Absalom Jones are certainly one of the most fruitful unexhausted sources. The dramatic schism of color that brought about the A.M.E. Church and laid the foundations for black Protestantism has not been sufficiently explored as a social movement and its relationship to present day civil rights movements should be investigated. Although the story of Richard Allen is well known, a re-evaluation of his life, church activities, and broad involvement in the history of black people is in order. Records of the Philadelphia Conference are important to determine changes within the Methodist Episcopal Church that brought its leaders into the anti-slavery and abolitionist movement even though they originally advocated separation of the races. The records of the Presbyterian Historical Society were relied on considerably by Andrew E. Murray in his recently published Presbyterianism and the Negro. Most locally-based church historical societies and seminaries contain material that can be put to similar use, but the richest sources are in the Negro church records.

"The 20th century Philadelphia Negro is not well represented in local institutional archives. The increase in northern urban Negro population has been rapid and its vast output of written and printed matter generally has not been systematically collected although the embryonic urban archives at Temple University may be the institution to do it. Useful sources are the Race Relations Committee of the Society of Friends, the NAACP, the National Urban League (*successor to the Armstrong Association dating back to World War I*), the documentary archives of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission and the archival material of the City's Commission on Human Relations as well as the physical, economic and social surveys conducted by the WPA in the 1930's and held by the Philadelphia City Archives.

"No study of local Negro history could be complete without recourse to the many files of anti-slavery, abolitionist, and Negro-sponsored newspapers. These sources are the most fertile for determining the reactions of the Negroes themselves to issues. It must be noted that many of the local papers edited and published by Negroes are not included in the collections of Philadelphia institutions. A real service would be to locate copies of W. H. McLean's Afro-American, W. W. Rourk's Colored World (1915-1916), Astwood's Defender (1897-1909) and James S. Stemon's Pilot (1907-1908). Fortunately, a complete set of the Philadelphia Tribune and Weekly Tribune founded by Chris J. Perry in 1886 and continued to the present by E. Washington Rhodes does exist. The Philadelphia edition of the Afro-American complements the Tribune, and the short-lived Independent Advocate (1891-1894) and the Philadelphia Independent founded in 1931 are also valuable. Garrison's Liberator contains a wealth of Philadelphia material and the Colonization Herald (1835-1865) is of equal value. Nor can the Pennsylvania Free Man (1836-1854) involving Lundy, John Greenleaf Whittier, C. C. Burleigh and others be ignored. The Free Library of Philadelphia, the H.S.P., and the Library Company contain good collections of most of the above mentioned. It is obvious then, that much primary source material exists and has existed in useful form for a period of time within City institutions and similar institutions elsewhere. The challenge presented is to use it properly."

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U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C., April 25, 1968.

MR. OSBORN ELLIOTT,  
*Editor, Newsweek,*  
*New York, N.Y.*

DEAR MR. ELLIOTT: May I commend your full treatment of the subject of the Negro in American history in your April 29 issue of *Newsweek*.

As one who strongly advocates widespread dissemination of knowledge on the history of Negro Americans, I am glad that *Newsweek* has alerted its readers to the void on this subject which exists in our educational system.

To fill this void, I recently introduced a bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture which would conduct a study of all proposals to research, document, compile, preserve, and disseminate data on Negro history and culture, and to recommend such legislative enactments as may be required

to provide for the integration of such data into the mainstream of American education and life.

I believe this Commission can promote greater awareness of important contributions that Negroes have made to American civilization.

Sincerely,

HUGH SCOTT, U.S. Senator.

U.S. SENATE,

Washington, D.C., May 29, 1968.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES,  
*The New York Times*,  
New York, N.Y.

To THE EDITOR: Congratulations to the New York Times for joining with Arno Press to republish 45 books by and about Negroes in the collection entitled, "The American Negro: His History and Literature." I agree with the headline in your advertisement, which says, "Now all of us-black and white-can learn the true role of the Negro in U.S. History . . . in 45 books America 'forgot'."

Our history books do a credible job of recording what white Americans have contributed to society as we know it today. But most of them overlook the achievements of Negro Americans.

We need to republish Negro literature, but we also need more research into original sources to discover those Negro activities which have been buried under two centuries of a conspiracy of silence. Therefore, I have sponsored a bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture. It would encourage the dissemination of existing data on the role of the Negro in history. But it would also stimulate original research.

For instance, I am advised by historians that more work should be done on:

Meta V. W. Fuller, a well-known Negro sculptress who lived in Philadelphia during the early nineteen hundreds.

Benjamin Banneker, a respected mathematician and scientist who served on the commission of three that planned the District of Columbia.

The Negro inventors who were responsible for such inventions as a paper bag machine, an evaporating pan for sugar refining which revolutionized the sugar-refining industry in 1846, the first working model of a steam engine.

American military records which are replete with deeds of black men in battle, such as Salem Poor, a Negro cited for his part in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Our negligence of the Negro role in American history is both the cause and the effect of prejudices today. The Negro and his fellow Americans must share full knowledge of their common past to dispel some of the myths which foster hatred and separatism.

Sincerely,

HUGH SCOTT, U.S. Senator.

[From the New York Times, May 26, 1968]

[Advertisement]

**NOW ALL OF US—BLACK AND WHITE—CAN LEARN THE TRUE ROLE OF THE NEGRO IN U.S. HISTORY—IN 45 BOOKS AMERICA “FORGOT”**

These books are being republished as a collection by The New York Times and Arno Press for schools, libraries, and concerned individuals. They make an important addition to the community relations programs of business organizations, labor unions, religious and fraternal groups.

The Negro past has for the most part been suppressed, neglected or distorted. Not always deliberately . . . but by a sort of unconscious racism.

Take Paul Revere's famous drawing of the Boston Massacre. It shows no Negroes, though Negroes fought there. Among them was Crispus Attucks, who died leading the patriots.

One out of every six American sailors in the War of 1812 was black. Negroes were pathfinders with Lewis and Clark in the Louisiana Territory. As cowboys, they whooped it up with Bat Masterson, Billy the Kid and the James brothers.

A black man planted the American flag at the North Pole on the Peary expedition. Another invented the machine that revolutionized the shoe industry. And black cavalrymen charged up San Juan Hill with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders.

Wherever American history has been made, the Negro was there. But you'd never know it.

America has left most of his contributions out of our school books, and kept his writings off library shelves. The classics, written over the past century about the Negro have been forgotten . . . until now.

Now, the New York Times and Arno Press have made the first large-scale effort to restore this literature about the Negro to its proper place by republishing 45 of the most significant volumes by and about Negroes.

These are not mere anthologies or excerpts, but complete narratives, memoirs and documents ranging from colonial times to the present, from city to farm, East to West. They were written by people who were part of the Negro experience—cowboys and statesmen, slaves and slave traders, historians and poets, blacks and whites. And they reveal a long and valorous Negro tradition.

At a time when all Americans are acutely aware of the growth of Negro pride and aspirations, the need for this collection is obvious.

These books help overcome the myth and distortion that surround the Negro's past. They are crucial to a full understanding of the development of America.

#### DESTROYING SOME MYTHS

The distortions of history used to justify discrimination are deeply embedded in our folklore. The popular image of Sambo laboring contentedly under a benevolent master lingers to this day.

To set the record straight, the editors have given particular emphasis to contemporary reports on the facts of slave life. First-hand accounts in this collection such as the original "Confessions of Nat Turner" reveal the appalling conditions of servitude and describe the early and widespread resistance to white oppression.

For teachers . . . these books can be a vital resource in integrating study of the Negro into American History, Problems of Democracy and other courses of study. They are useful for research, outside reading assignments and text supplements. A teachers' guide accompanies each set.

For public and college librarians . . . a core of rare and unavailable materials that can be arranged by subject throughout the library or used in a special Negro collection.

For business and community leaders . . . an unusual opportunity to participate directly in the integration of American history through *gifts* to hard-pressed libraries, ghetto high schools and youth centers in the community . . . and through circulation among employees and colleagues.

#### "THE AMERICAN NEGRO: HIS HISTORY AND LITERATURE"

The titles below are in two groups: Group I. *Course Collection*—books selected for readability and for use in typical secondary school social studies courses. Group II. Titles which, added to the first group, form a *Complete Collection* for study in depth.

#### GROUP I. 18 TITLES: \$208

##### *Slavery*

American Slavery As It is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses (1839) by *Theodore Dwight Weld*. A carefully documented collection that a quarter of a century before the Emancipation revealed without doubt the brutality of slavery. Prof. D. L. Dumond, a leading authority, calls it "the greatest of the anti-slavery pamphlets; in all probability the most crushing indictment of any institution ever written." \$7.00

Five Slave Narratives. A compendium of authenticated narratives written in the 19th century by escaped slaves. They offer an in-depth look at the South's "peculiar institution." \$15.00

##### *Years of Crisis*

My Bondage and My Freedom (1855) by *Frederick Douglass*. The second and most interesting of the three autobiographies written by the foremost Negro leader of the 19th Century. Its large appendix contains some of his most significant writings and speeches. Although it provides a vivid picture of Douglass' life as a slave and his role in the abolitionist movement, it has never been reprinted. \$14.50

The Underground Rail Road (1872) by *William Still*. This significant volume is the only surviving complete record of any station of the Underground Railroad. Compiled by the Negro secretary of the Philadelphia "station," it details the hardships and dangers with which escaping slaves were faced. And it gives a

moving picture of the determination of individuals to gain their freedom, whatever the cost. \$25.00

The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom (1898) by *Wilbur H. Siebert*. A white scholar's classic early study of the origins and working of the Underground Railroad. \$14.50

John Brown and his Men (1894) by *Richard J. Hinton*. A firsthand account of the band of Negroes and whites that Brown assembled for his raid on Harper's Ferry. Hinton rode with Brown during the bloody civil war in Kansas. His book includes letters written from prison by Brown's Negro followers. \$23.00

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Behind the Scenes (1868) by *Elizabeth H. Keckley*. Perhaps the first of the "my life in the White House" books. An ex-slave who became seamstress to Mrs. Lincoln presents revealing pictures of the first family during the Civil War. \$9.00

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The Free Negro Family (1932) by *E. Franklin Frazier.* A pioneering study of family origins of antebellum free Negroes by an eminent Negro sociologist, past president of the American Sociological Association. \$2.50

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History of the Negro Race in America From 1619 to 1880 (1883) *by George W. Williams*. A massive reference work by the most significant Negro historian of the last century, often called the "black Bancroft." Includes many primary source documents. \$34.50

The Black Phalanx (1890) *by Joseph T. Wilson*. The important history of the role black men have played in American wars, with particular emphasis on the Civil War. \$15.50

The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 (1919) *Carter G. Woodson*. A prime source of information on Negro schooling before the Civil War by one of the greatest Negro historians. \$14.00

The books have been selected by William Loren Katz, teacher, historian and author of "Eyewitness: The Negro in American History" and "Teachers' Guide to American Negro History." Mr. Katz is consultant on American Negro history to the New York Staff Education Department. Each work is being reprinted in facsimile on long-lasting library paper, all 45 titles are uniformly bound in cloth. Photographs and illustrations which appeared in the originals are retained. A special introduction in each book sheds new light on its author and place in historical literature.

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STATEMENT OF HON. HUGH SCOTT, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, UPON INTRODUCTION OF LEGISLATION TO ESTABLISH A COMMISSION ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE

"Mr. President, America is an amalgam of cultures. From the earliest settlements until today our land has absorbed peoples from all corners of the earth and welded them into a society whose strength depends in large part on its diversity.

"We have done a credible job of recording what many people have contributed to American society as we know it today. But we are sadly lacking in a full appreciation of the achievements of Negroes in America.

"I am today proposing legislation to give us a better appreciation of those achievements.

"The Negro contribution to this country is not known by many Americans. This dearth of knowledge among our multi-racial society is the mother of much of the prejudice that is aimed at the Negro minority.

"Children in our schools study the heroes of the past and aspire to emulate—if not the deeds of such men, surely their motives. Youth wishes to identify with the great ones who share with them some other common denominator than that both are human beings.

"Negro children have not been exposed to the knowledge of their great ones such as the approximately five thousand Negroes who served in the Continental army and navy during the Revolution. Or of Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave who was shot at the Boston Massacre while leading a mob protesting the presence of British troops, thus becoming the first American to die in the cause of freedom. Or of Prince Estabrook, one of seventy minutemen, who faced the British at Lexington on the very first day of the Revolution.

"How many Americans are aware that one of the original settlers of Chicago was Jean Baptiste Point DuSable—a Negro?

"The Revolutionary generation produced Negroes who excelled. But the next century produced disheartening setbacks. With the introduction of the cotton gin into the South, cotton and slaves became vital to its prosperity. Laws were passed which prevented association by slaves with Negro preachers and teachers. These restrictive laws closed many schools and churches. Laws were also passed to segregate black Americans in almost all phases of life.

"Courageously, men like Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey and Nat Turner, fought against slavery, but with little chance of success. These men put their principles on the line against great odds; they did fight. How many Americans—black or white know of these men and their battle against slavery?

"Since 1900, Negro Americans have made great progress up what many consider to be the "down staircase" in the house of America. However, the steps once gained have not always been maintained. American Negroes are far below the level of some of their earlier advances. At one time, the South's leading craftsmen and mechanics were Negroes. At one time, horse racing was dominated by Negro jockeys who won nine of the first thirteen Kentucky Derbys. Rare in America today is there a Negro jockey. At one time, Negroes held public offices in the South as congressmen, lieutenant governors, state legislators, superintendents of education, county commissioners, and city councilmen. Few Negroes hold such offices today. How many Americans—black and white know the names of any of these men of history?

"Negroes took many steps up the "down staircase" during World War I only to suffer bitter setbacks when the war was ended. Too few Americans know that the all-Negro 369th Regiment of the 94th Division was on the front line longer than any other American regiment during World War I.

"One million Negroes served in the armed services during World War II but most of them in segregated army and navy units. The services were integrated after the war and Negro and white servicemen served side by side on all levels. Thus, another step up the "down staircase"—after 170 years the return of an integrated state in the armed services.

"In 1915, Carter G. Woodson, historian and author, organized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and later began the observance of Negro History Week, which is held each year during the week in which Lincoln's birthday falls. This year the celebration of Negro History Week began on Sunday, February 11—the 42nd observance.

"I am pleased to report that my Commonwealth of Pennsylvania is one of about 18 States observing that week. Therefore, today I am introducing legislation, similar to that which is pending in the House of Representatives. It would establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture to conduct a study of proposals to research, document, compile, preserve and disseminate data on the role of the Negro in history.

"As man draws constantly on his heritage for inspiration in dealing with present and future situations—it is vital that the Negro also have his opportunity to put together the pieces of the puzzle of his life in order to become a whole person and to aid those not of his ethnic group to look upon him with a knowledge of what actually has gone before.

"Today, a Conference on Negro History and Culture is taking place on Capitol Hill. This conference is sponsored by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., and coincides with the celebration of Negro History Week. Because of my deep interest in and desire for the success of this conference, I have assigned a member of my staff, Mrs. John Reed, to attend.

"Today, the Negro is running hard against the downward motion of the "down staircase". Because he is an American *first* and a Negro *second*, he desires to change the motion of the escalator to an up staircase. Let us lend every encouragement to his inspiration—drawn from his own heritage—to devise the ways and means of accomplishing this essential progression."

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#### SENATOR SCOTT URGES SUPPORT OF NEGRO CULTURE COMMISSION

In a letter to James B. Rhoads, Acting Chairman, National Historical Publications Commission, National Archives, Senator Scott said:

"Thank you for your letter of March 26 and the accompanying material commenting on the bill that I have introduced to create a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

"You and the National Historical Publications Commission are to be congratulated for your efforts to find, preserve, and publish original writings by Negroes who have made important contributions to American history, culture and art.

"I most certainly agree that it is necessary for a better understanding of American history to encourage the publication of the writings of such outstanding people as Frederick Douglass, John Brown Russwurm, Booker T. Washington, William Still, James Milton Turner, George Washington Carver and others.

"But I must disagree with you that to encourage separate Negro history might serve to perpetuate divisiveness.

"If there were a small lack of knowledge about the Negro contributions to American society, then such a small lack could be rectified by a small effort. But such is not the case. The problem we face today is based upon a massive lack of knowledge of Negro contributions to our culture. This is a serious problem for White America, but even more serious for Negroes. Because they are unaware of their own heritage, many Negroes have inadvertently joined the white majority's stereotyped opinion of Negroes. The almost total absence of awareness of the Negro in our society—something approaching an inadvertent conspiracy—has gone on for so long that we will have to undertake a very considerable program to make up for several hundred years of overlooking and rejecting Negro contributions to America as we know it today.

"I believe that because man draws constantly upon his heritage for inspiration in dealing with contemporary life, it is today vital to the Negro to know this true heritage and to identify with the great ones of the past. The white majority in America must begin to respect the heritage of Negroes, must become aware of the black heroes who fought for freedom—some successfully, some in vain, almost all forgotten. Both Negroes and whites must become aware of the black heroes of science and exploration, heretofore unsung. They must understand Negro contributions to religious thought. They must look anew at Negro contributions to the performing arts—especially music and the dance—and to competitive sports. They must realize the Negro influence has been so pervasive in activities that are so deeply entrenched in our lives that society has been molded almost without realizing it by Negroes of great achievement.

"I agree with you that the effort envisioned by my bill to create a Commission on Negro History and Culture would emphasize the Negro role in American History. That would be the point of view of any study. But it would have to concentrate wholly on Negro achievements to make up for the lack of study in that area for so many centuries."

Senator PELL. I thank you very much, Senator Scott. Would you care to join us at the committee table to listen to the remaining witnesses?

Senator SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, I would like to, but I had better state for the record at this point that I have an executive session of the Committee on Commerce on some contested matters coming up, where I have been asked to be present, following which there is a hearing, as

the chairman knows, of the Senate Judiciary Committee. I have several members of my staff here who are arranging for the presence of several witnesses which the Chair has kindly agreed to hear. I am very much interested. I would like to stay, but we have this conflict of duties which is constant, and I must go to the Commerce Committee first.

Senator PELL. I quite understand. I may well have to leave due to the fact that we are marking up a foreign aid bill.

Thank you very much. I congratulate you on your leadership in this field on the Senate side, and I am very happy that we are having these hearings.

Senator SCOTT. Thank you very much.

Senator PELL. At this point we will receive for the record the statement of the ranking minority member of our special subcommittee and also of the full Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. He is a cosponsor of the pending bill and we welcome his contribution to this hearing.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JACOB K. JAVITS, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Senator JAVITS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to be here today to hear testimony on S. 2979, a bill for the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture, of which I am a cosponsor. There is a void in American history as it is presently viewed by black and white America, a void that failed to accurately portray in American history the grandeur, glory, and status of black citizens in molding America's cultural mosaic.

America has often been called the great "melting pot" and we have recorded for posterity the contribution of various elements. However, for the majority of Americans the vital role played by the Negro is not merely a matter quickly learned and then forgotten, but rather a failure in the first instance of our history books to present the valuable achievements and contributions of black people.

If our schoolchildren are to study about the heroes of America's glorious past and the development of American history it is essential that our students have equal opportunity to identify with Negro greats throughout American history. Research tells us how critical it is for our youth to have the opportunity to identify with the prominent role played by contributors to America's cultural heritage; the black should not be denied this opportunity.

It is my feeling that the commission created by this legislation can perform an invaluable service as they set the historical record straight, rid white Americans of the stereotypes that have agitated race relations and strengthen the self-image of black America.

Senator PELL. Thank you, Senator Javits.

We now receive a statement from the junior Senator from Massachusetts, Senator Brooke, another cosponsor of this bill.

**STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD W. BROOKE, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS**

Senator BROOKE. Thank you. The balanced representation of Afro-American history and culture in our museums, texts, and school cur-

ricula is a matter which deeply concerns me. However, as we all know, long-overdue reforms in American life cannot proceed in a piecemeal fashion. A comprehensive study is needed so that progress can be made in those areas where it will achieve the best results.

The American Negro has been deeply and constructively involved in the most momentous issues and critical times that this Nation has faced. Not merely a figure in the background, the Negro has significantly influenced and contributed to the character and soul of America, strengthening its economy, sparking its politics, enlivening its music, enriching its literature, and deepening its human sensitivity.

This heritage should be captured and recorded by America in her institutions of learning and her prominent archives. The imbalance which has excluded the American Negro from our official culture has existed for too long: it is past time for a change.

The bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture, S. 2979, of which I am pleased to be a cosponsor, will provide for an appropriate examination of present facilities and will produce the recommendations for their improvement. All areas of historical and cultural concern will be affected by this investigation of the proposed commission: researching and establishing accuracy of Negro history and customs, collecting, preserving and compiling such information, and disseminating it to our educational institutions and mass media. After such a study is made, the changes necessary to incorporate the contribution of the American Negro, both past and present, into the mainstream of American cultural education will be clear. We can then act with greater assurance that our efforts will not be misdirected.

The urgency of commencing this study and of making concrete recommendations, reflected by the growing demand to change school curricula and the realization of publishers that many of their texts are obsolete, cannot be too heavily emphasized.

I urge this committee to consider these factors and to act favorably upon this bill at the earliest possible time.

Senator PELL. I note that Congressman Scheuer, who is to be a witness before us, as well as being the sponsor of this bill in the other body, has arrived.

It is a particular pleasure to welcome Congressman Scheuer who is a very old friend and a past neighbor from Dutchess County.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Mr. SCHEUER. I would like to thank the chairman for his kindness in permitting me to testify here and congratulate him for his ever-present interest in culture and human understanding of all kinds. I also would like to congratulate my colleague in the other body, Senator Scott, for the fine leadership he has shown in giving forward thrust to this piece of legislation in the Senate.

Senator Pell, as you know, I have been working on this legislation for several years on the House side. It has evolved into its present form through continued meetings and conferences with leaders of the Negro community, the educators, with experts in the media, so that in the form which the legislation now is before you, we think it gives great

promise of rich achievement, not only for the Negro population in America, not only for Negro children in finding a new pride and identity in self-image, but also for white America, so that white children in our school system can have a new appreciation of their colleagues and a new understanding of the contributions that Negroes have made to every aspect of American life. Our politics, our arts and letters, our war, our peace, our humanities are permeated with the contributions to our civilization made by Negro citizens. Unfortunately, today, when a Negro child opens up a textbook and she sees a picture of Mary and Jane and Bow-wow, she says, "That's not me"; and when she hears or reads of the Scandanavians and the Western-Europeans and the Eastern Europeans who settled this country, she says, "That's not me." When she reads of the typical heroes and even the typical villains in the storybook or the textbook, she says, "That's not me."

Our education curriculums, our textbooks, and by and large our public media—radio, television, press—have failed to convey even a marginally adequate understanding to Negro and white children alike of the role that Negroes are playing today and the contributions their people have made in the past.

This gap diminishes us all.

Happily there is large evidence that there is concern over this. In recent weeks and months, we have seen scattered efforts on the part of leaders in the radio and TV industry and in our magazines to begin the long process of rectifying this situation. We hope that the Commission on Negro History and Culture can give leadership and direction to this effort and distill the most creative ideas and the most thoughtful and sensitive insights into the problem from among Negro experts, educators, archivists and the like, and from experts in the media themselves, experts in education and textbooks and education curricula, so that all of the insight and understanding of this problem throughout our leadership can be focused on the problem of giving recognition, of giving a place in our history books to the contributions that Negroes have made over the centuries and the magnificent contributions they are making today. I think this commission and the kind of role it can play, are long overdue; the time is now. I hope that both Houses of Congress will pass this legislation before we adjourn later this year.

I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, for the splendid leadership you have shown in moving this bill ahead. I fervently hope you and I will be present at a bill-signing ceremony in the Rose Garden before very long.

Senator PELL. Let us hope we may have that opportunity.

In this connection, I was wondering what your view would be on placing the responsibilities outlined in this proposed legislation under the aegis of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which has already proven itself in this field?

Mr. SCHEUER. You mean the major responsibility in this legislation?

Senator PELL. Yes, in other words, perhaps a commission that would report to the National Endowment for the Humanities, which would have the basic responsibility. One of the things that always concerns

me is the setting up of new groups that report directly to the President; the proliferation of reporting agencies. I wonder if the Endowment which has done a really fine job—as I stated earlier—would not be the logical agency to undertake this responsibility. Perhaps if you do not have an opinion on it now, you could turn it over in your mind, because you and I are on the respective committees in the House and Senate which have oversight responsibilities regarding the Endowment, and we might be able to facilitate implementation of the concept. It is a thought.

Mr. SCHEUER. I would like to reserve judgment on that one, Senator, and discuss it with you.

Senator PELL. I notice you use the words, "Negro history and culture." Yet I also notice that amongst the blacks in this country, they prefer the word "black." Should it be black history and culture" or "Negro history and culture"? I am just wondering which word would be better.

Mr. SCHEUER. It might very well, if that is the stated preferences of the black community.

Senator PELL. I thought I might ask some of our witnesses as we move along as to their preferences.

Thank you very much. Your prepared statement will be printed in the record at this point.

(The prepared statement of Congressman Scheuer follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS  
FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, I was delighted to receive your invitation to appear before you to describe the background to the development of this legislation for a national commission on Negro history and culture.

I believe this is an important bill which could play a significant role in promoting a better understanding of the contribution of Negro culture to American society and the Negro people to American history.

The purpose of the bill is to end the almost total neglect of Negro history and culture by our historians and textbooks, newspapers, television and radio. The commission will study the best means of preserving, collecting and integrating the Negro past into the mainstream of American education, and of reporting the Negro past and present, in our newspapers, television, radio and other information media.

The neglect of Afro-American history in America has robbed the Negro of his racial heritage, drastically reduced his sense of identification with America, and seriously undermined his pride and self-esteem. But the white man, has suffered almost as much as the Negro from the neglect of Black history in our society. Much of the fear of and prejudice against Negroes stems directly from the ignorance within White communities of the Negro. Deprived of any accurate account of the Negro past or present, white children hear little or nothing to counter and correct the false stereotypes of the Negro which abound in our country today. If our textbooks and histories, our information and communication media, could provide a more balanced portrayal of Negro history and culture, negative myths would be contained, the spread of discrimination and prejudice effectively countered, and much of the fear and hatred which poison race relations in our society today, removed.

Historians tell us that in America's diversity lies its strength. We are a pluralistic society—an amalgam of a whole assortment of cultures and races, each of which has contributed to the American society of 1968. By the time our children leave school, they have an appreciation of the diverse histories and contributions of most of the ethnic and racial groups within our society. The great exception is the contribution of the Negro—a people who make up one-ninth of our population. The purpose of the Commission is to end this omission.

I first became aware of the neglect of Negro history and culture in talks with my constituents in the South Bronx, and in my involvement with the poverty program as a member of the House Education and Labor Committee.

One of the most common complaints of my constituents was the almost absence of Afro-American art, sculpture and history in our national museums. Young Negro teachers told me of trips they had organized for local youth groups to city museums and the frustrations of the groups on finding the museums devoid of any information on the Negro past.

I remember one Negro teacher, who had thrown away the conventional history books and studied black history by dint of his own research efforts asking me: "Why isn't there one museum in America which tells the story of the 5,000 Negroes who fought under Washington?"

"Why isn't there a museum in this country which gives some information on the 5,000 Negro cowboys?"

"Why isn't there any information on the Negroes who came over in the sixteenth century with the Spanish conquistadors?"

"Who has ever heard of Estevanico, a Spanish Negro who led the expedition which discovered Arizona and New Mexico?"

I talked to other Negro historians, to Negro artists and to civil rights leaders familiar with Negro culture, and the outcome was a bill which I introduced in the 89th Congress to set up a National Commission to study the problems of establishing an Afro-American museum.

The bill failed to be reported out of the House Education and Labor Committee. I introduced the bill again this Congress and continued to consult various leading Negro historians.

Invaluable assistance was provided by Dr. Charles Wesley, the executive director of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. The Association has a distinguished history of its own having been founded 52 years ago. It has published the *Journal of Negro History*, a quarterly since 1916, and the *Negro History Bulletin*, a monthly, since 1937.

Among the most distinguished historians on the Association's executive council are the Negro historians John Hope Franklin and the American historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who succeeded his father on the council.

Dr. Wesley told me some of the many problems Negro historians faced in writing the history of the Black people of America, the most fundamental problem being the lack of documents. As Dr. Wesley said: No documents, no history.

From my talks with Dr. Wesley and several other leading Negro historians, I realized the urgent need of a national commission with a much wider concern than that provided in my bill to set up a Negro museum. Accordingly, I introduced a second bill in the first session of this Congress, H.R. 12962.

H.R. 12962 is identical in language to the bill before this committee (S. 2929). Its scope is very much wider than the earlier bill.

The possibilities of establishing a Museum of Negro History and Culture will be examined. The location of the museum; its relationship to existing institutions and the best means of financing the museum will also be studied.

But the Commission will make the examination of the need of Afro-American the start of its study rather than the end. The whole field of Negro history and culture and its treatment and interpretation by our education system—curricula and textbooks—and by our public media, TV, radio, films and press, will be thrown open for review.

Among many other aspects the Commission will consider the necessary steps to unearth, collect and preserve historical materials dealing with Negro history and culture; methods of preserving and cataloguing existing materials; methods of disseminating such materials so that the information can be integrated into the mainstream of American education and life.

The Commission will be expected to make broad recommendations on how to provide a more balanced portrayal of the Negro in school and college curricula, bibliographies, textbooks, television programs, newspaper and magazine reports and radio broadcasts.

In short, the mandate of the Commission will be as broad as possible, its operations will be as flexible as possible.

On the House side, the bill was reported out of the Select Subcommittee on Labor on May 30 and the full committee of Education and Labor on July 10.

Hearings were held on the bill before the Select Subcommittee on Labor in New York in March. All of us who were present at the hearings, Representative William Hathaway of Maine and Gus Hawkins of California—are even more convinced of the importance of this legislation.

There are first a few brief highlights I would like to share with you.

James Baldwin said: "Anyone who is black is taught, as my generation was taught, that Negroes are not a civilization or culture, and that we came out of

the jungle and were saved by the missionary. \* \* \* You cannot educate a child if you first destroy his morale. \* \* \* If he (the Negro child) sees in fact on the one hand no past and really no present and certainly no future, then you have created what the American public likes to think of, in the younger generation, as the nigger we invent and the nigger they invent. What has happened is that you destroy the child from the cradle.

"We are beginning late (to review textbooks), but any beginning is better than none. But I don't think we should pretend it is going to be easy."

Jackie Robinson also was a strong supporter of the bill. He told the House sub-committee: "I think it's high time that the Congress understood the tremendous frustrations that the young Negro has today, frustrations I think we felt many years ago. \* \* \* For many, many years in these United States, a grave injustice has been done, not only to the Negro cause, but also to the cause of historical truth and accuracy. \* \* \* One of the major sins of omission has been the failure of historians and educational authorities to assign black Americans the credit they richly deserve for the collective and individual contributions they have made to American history and culture and to the growth of this country."

Other witnesses who testified in favor of the bill included Mrs. Betty Shadazz, the widow of Malcolm X; Roy Innis, the associate national director of CORE; Dr. John Davis of the American Society of African Culture; Mr. John W. Davis of the Legal Fund of NAACP; Mr. Mal Goode of ABC TV New York; Mr. John Morsell, associate director of the NAACP; and Dr. Charles Wesley.

I should also like to bring to the attention of members of the Committee a report of a conference on Negro History and Culture in Washington, sponsored by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and myself.

A highlight of this conference was a speech by Franklin H. Williams, the former U.S. Ambassador to Ghana who has been appointed to head a new urban center at Columbia University. He told the conference:

"I had to go to Africa, to a country run by black people, to find for the first time, and identity for myself. As a result \* \* \* I am no longer an "integrationist" in the old sense of a humiliating attempt to destroy the black community and scatter it into the white community. 'Black Power' now means to me that Negroes, like the Irish, the Jews and other ethnic groups in America, must take pride in and strengthen the positive values of the black community in order to achieve real integration in America."

Dr. Gregory Anrig, Director of the Division of Equal Educational Opportunity of the U.S. Office of Education, blamed the neglect of the Negro past in history textbooks on timid publishers who felt it safer to ignore race when selling to a market which included 5000 Southern school districts, on educators who preferred to be 'color blind' and think of America as "one big happy family \* \* \* but a white middle class family" and on Negro and white educators and parents who have not demanded more representative material.

Some progress has been made in projecting a more accurate picture of the Negro past in school textbooks and the information media. But much of the progress has been superficial. Much more needs to be done.

Dr. Anrig told me of a hastily revamped textbook which tried to show one Negro in every picture. In the rush to replate a picture, a child in one illustration had a black face and a white body.

The State of California has a law requiring that all textbooks be approved by the State. The law follows a report from a committee of eminent historians from the history department of the University of California at Berkeley. Reviewing the American history textbooks most widely used in the state, the report stated: "\* \* \* the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro."

Connecticut and New York are two other states that have taken some legislative action or are considering legislation to set up standards for textbooks and curricula.

And only last week the Michigan State Board of Education issued a report, the culmination of a year-long study of a special advisory committee, which severely criticized history texts used in Michigan public schools. The committee found many of the books inaccurate, misleading and distorted in regard to minority groups.

The report, according to the *Washington Post* of July 11, 1968, singled out 12 selected texts as "very seriously deficient in their treatment of minorities in general and Negroes in particular."

The reports in California and Michigan have been helpful in spotlighting some of the problems and solutions to ending the neglect of Negro history and culture, but only a National Commission would be able to provide the battery of stage lights needed to illuminate all the problems, and to point the way to the best possible solutions.

There are four great areas of the Negro past which historians have neglected and which I would like to see rectified.

The first area involves the African heritage of the Negro. There is little or no material in school textbooks on the great empires of Africa before the explosion of Europe in the 15th Century. Most, if not all American children leave school without ever hearing of the great empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay.

The second area is the almost total neglect of Negro leaders and heroes. How many children are told of the brilliant black leaders like Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W.E.B. DuBois? Of the few who have heard of these leaders, how many understand the main arguments of their exciting works? White children could learn so much from Booker T. Washington, particularly his eloquent argument that the white man's suppression of the Negro debased the suppressor more than the suppressed.

Scores of Negro leaders have contributed to the development of modern technology. In agriculture, Negroes like Norbert Tillieux who slashed the cost of sugar production with a new refining technique, and George Washington Carver who transformed the economy of the South by developing a score of new uses for the lowly peanut, sweet potato and soybean—uses which ranged from peanut butter to shaving cream; in medicine, Negroes like Dr. Daniel Hale Williams who performed the first successful heart operation in the 1890's, and Dr. Charles Drew who developed new techniques to store blood plasma; in town planning, Negroes like Benjamin Banneker, a surveyor appointed by L'Enfant to lay out the city of Washington, and Garrett Morgan who developed the first traffic light.

A third area neglected by historians is the contribution of the Negro as soldier, citizen, cowboy and participant in the hundreds of events recorded by historians. It was this omission which so upset the Bronx Negro teacher—the story of the missing 5,000—the 5,000 Negroes who fought in the Revolution; the 5,000 who fought in the Civil War; the 5,000 who were cowboys and helped develop the West.

The final area of omission is a realistic account of slavery and the valiant struggle the Negro has endured since the emancipation. As Ralph Ellison told the conference I sponsored in Washington: "The greatest contributions of the Negro to America has been his intense concept of 'freedom', his faith in achieving freedom and justice, even when he was being cruelly brutalized. Although we tend to concentrate on the enslaved Negro, it is the transcendence of the Negro's spirit, his faith that he would achieve freedom, his freedom in expression in music and other arts that is the great influence and inspiration for all Americans."

Two of the most vital areas the Commission will study are television and films—these two media probably have as much influence in establishing our values as elementary and secondary schools.

Several networks have recently run programs on the Negro in America. This is progress even if little and late. Of the recent programs, I would like to single out the CBS series "Of Black America" for particular commendation. This has been an excellent series. The CBS producers used their imagination freely. They were provided with funds for outside broadcasts and research, and presented the issues in a dramatic form.

Compare this to a series on another network in which four prominent Negro leaders were gathered in a studio to discuss the problems Negroes faced in America. A discussion program is better than no program at all. But the unimaginative format of the program assured that the people who should have been reached by the program, people with the least knowledge and understanding of Negro life, automatically switched to another channel.

We need discussion programs, but we need more than discussion programs. Imaginative and innovative programs such as the CBS series will enjoy large and interested audiences and can play a significant role in combating the misunderstandings and prejudice which poison our society.

I congratulate the Columbia Broadcasting System and hope they and the other networks will go on to even better series.

Documentaries and specials, however, are only a small part of the "mistrreatment" of the Negro on television. A much more serious question is the absence of Negroes in the unending comedy and adventure series which supposedly reflect the American way of life. Few, if any, of these programs provide insight on the life of a Negro in America in 1968.

Mr. Chairman, I know your exacting and demanding Senatorial duties provide very little time for relaxing before a T.V. set. But even if you were a television fan able to watch "the tube" for nine hours a day, you would still be unable to name more than a paltry half-a-dozen important roles written for Negroes in the scores of series broadcasted by the networks. The Negro actor is all but ignored for network series.

Bill Cosby in "I Spy" and Greg Morris in "Mission Impossible" have demonstrated the talent pool within the ranks of black actors. But with very few exceptions, Negroes are ignored.

We need to see more Negro actors employed in television series, and we also need series which tell us something about the life of an ordinary Negro in America. Such series could be serious without being solemn. One of the most popular television series in Britain was based on a working class family. It was a brilliantly funny series, but within and between the funny lines, the writers were able to provide a penetrating and perceptive picture of life in a working class family.

The film industry is as timid as the television networks in using Negro actors and telling it like it is in Black America. Sidney Poitier is an enormously talented actor and a sensitive, perceptive citizen. But film magnates refuse to cast him in anything less than a middle-class role. I remember an early film which was an exception in that he played an escaped convict with Tony Curtis. Since then he has played "The Super Negro". In one, a top police professional, one of the finest detectives in the country; in another a teacher; and in his latest, "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner", a doctor.

Why can't the film industry provide some realistic films—films of ordinary working people. Again, my mind turns to British films like "A Kind of Loving" and "Saturday Night and Sunday Morning", with their humorous and moving, but at the same time accurate, portrayal of life in working class Britain.

When is an American movie going to be made to illustrate the life of a working class Negro? How long do we have to wait before the Negro worker can be portrayed as a worker—an individual human being filled with love and hate, virtue and vice, warmth and coldness, strength and weakness? How long do we have to wait for films to tell about life in the ghetto? How long for films to describe the middle income Negro?

James Baldwin spoke very eloquently in his testimony before the House committee on the reluctance of the film industry to portray a Negro in a realistic role.

Referring to Poitier's last movie, "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner," Baldwin noted:

"This movie is about an interracial marriage, I suppose. Sidney Poitier plays a very beautiful and modest role. That is all he ever plays. This is the mass media for you.

"Now is one is going to deal with the mass media, you have to be aware that you are reaching two publics: the white people in this country and the white people abroad. I talked to some people in London who adored it and think it is true. But of course, when I watch it, some cat in the ghetto is watching; it may do great things for your morale, but it does terrible things to him.

"He recognizes that the movie is a copout. Mr. Poitier is not an ordinary citizen. It obviously would be a different movie if he were able to play a real man.

"I am not overstating my case; the movie does say that in order for me to marry this particular white chick, I have to be what he is in the movie. Well, that is not so of any white person, he can marry whomever he wants to marry. I am trying to say that the structure of the mass media is such that I think you ought to be aware that there would be a tremendous resistance.

"You will hear what I have heard for years. It is great and powerful but it is not for our readers. Or—it is a risky picture and we can't do it. The mass media is mainly a form of escape, and someone said many, many years ago that no white person is going to make his escape personality black, especially in this country. I don't think we should be deluded about that."

Finally, what will the Commission be expected to look for in its examination of newspapers and journals?

The Kerner Report's review of the press was mostly concerned with the press media's coverage of civil disorders, but it came to the conclusion: "The Commission's major concern with the news media is not in riot reporting as such, but in the failure to report adequately on race relations and ghetto problems and to bring more Negroes into journalism . . . They (the press) have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery, and hopelessness of living in the ghetto. They have

not communicated to whites a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being a Negro in the United States. They have not shown understanding or appreciation of—and thus have not communicated—a sense of Negro culture, thought, or history."

The Kerner Report outlined the problem and made recommendations such as full time reporters in the ghetto, and the employment of many more Negro reporters.

The National Commission on Negro History and Culture could continue where the Kerner Report left off, and make a comprehensive study of newspaper coverage of the Negro past and present, and a full list of recommendations for rectifying present inadequate reporting.

The basic conclusion of the Kerner Report has been widely publicized—the conclusion that America was moving towards two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal. But an important paragraph followed this conclusion: "This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement part can be reversed."

Mr. Chairman, I believe the National Commission on Negro History and Culture could play a significant role in reversing the widening racial division within our society. It could help bridge the gap between black and white, bring the two communities close together and prevent the creation of two separate and unequal societies.

Mr. Chairman, I commend Senator Scott for introducing S. 2979 into the Senate and I urge your support of this bill.

Senator PELL. Would you care to sit with the subcommittee for the rest of the hearing, Mr. Scheuer?

Mr. SCHEUER. I would be happy to.

Senator PELL. Now, we welcome to the witness table, Dr. Nicholas Onyewu.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. NICHOLAS ONYEWU, PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Dr. ONYEWU. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think that the present bill to establish a Commission to Study Negro History and Culture is a first step in the right direction in correcting and helping to ameliorate the present unrest in the United States. I think we can justify this bill by commenting that no education of a people can be adequate for good citizenship and harmonious national development without those ingredients that enhance proud identification with a people's past or a people's heritage or their culture. Yet these essential ingredients have been conspicuously absent for many years in the formal and informal education of all Americans, particularly the Negro Americans.

Thus despite vast amounts of resources expended in recent years on urban projects and minority problems, little or no attention has been paid to specific defects of ghetto education. Unabated re-experience and frustration can be attributed to this educational gap which, in turn, invites rebellion as an adaptive response. The establishment of this commission will, it is hoped, fill this gap in a meaningful manner. What we are saying, in other words, is that today's upheavals are the inevitable consequences of the scars of two centuries of institutionalized bondage. Against this background must be seen the Negro's effort to acquire his ancestral culture so long denied him. That he needs this educational information about his past and his background for personal identity in order to enable him to resuscitate his lost identity is very evident. We are saying, in other words, that the black American revolution in the United States has a tremendous force in it.

Guided and nurtured, this force can produce constructive and beneficial results for all Americans. Misguided and ignored, it could bring terrible consequences for all. The black American is beginning to identify himself with this African heritage and taking pride in the achievements of black people. He is beginning to discover who he is and is becoming more confident in what he can do for himself, for his countrymen, and for his Nation.

In asserting himself, he is making demands upon the Nation and, of course, his Nation is heeding his demands, as witness the report by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

Unfortunately, the black American, in evolving an identification with his past, has not been given serious consideration by the educational authorities in the United States and by the U.S. Government. Yet the educational aspect of black Americans' development could be invaluable in his development as a person and in his contribution to the Nation. In this respect, we think that the commission is a very needed aspect of or a part of this solution.

I would ask your permission to mention in passing a proposal which the University of Maryland is sponsoring and which was submitted to the university last April. This proposal, entitled "A Cultural Approach to the Ghetto Problem," is doing or intends to do exactly what this commission sets out to do. It will establish a center in which Negro history and culture will be studied. It will also have a research branch within the center that will prepare curriculums on Negro history and culture and Negro past which should be distributed to all schools, from the elementary school to the various universities in the United States.

It may be pertinent to conclude that the work of the Commission will fizz out unless a permanent institution is created to disseminate its report. In this connection, I would suggest that the services of the Urban Center aforementioned be utilized. Inquiries about the Center should be directed to Dr. D. Deppe of the University College, College Park (454-2322), or Dr. J. Raths of the College of Education, University of Maryland (454-2108), or Dr. N. D. U. Onyewu, Director Designate of the Center (933-3234).

With this, then, I think that the bill deserves all the support it can get from Congress. My heartfelt thanks Mr. Chairman.

Thank you.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, indeed. I think you have put your finger on the basic problem, which is in a sense the need for such an identity and a sense of pride in that identity.

I would like to ask you a technical question on the nomenclature. Do you think this commission to be set up should be called the Commission on Negro History and Culture or the Commission on Black History and Culture?

Dr. ONYEWU. I would say yes in that the name should be what exactly the American Negroes would want it to be. Namely, I think this committee should consult the leaders of the American Negroes to find out whether they prefer "black" to "Negro" or "Negro" to "black." It would be difficult for me to say which is better.

In our proposal, we called it "Urban and Minority Affairs Center as a Cultural Approach to the Ghetto Problem."

Senator PELL. Thank you very much indeed.

Is there anything you wanted to add, Congressman?

Mr. SCHEUER. No; I wanted to thank the witness.

On the House side, we had several very impressive bits of testimony from Roy Innis, from Whitney Young, the NAACP, the Urban League, CORE, Jackie Robinson, the broad spectrum of American black leadership. We had only one dissenting white who was connected with a small Negro cultural institution in Detroit. He opposed this commission because he said that for the next year, if such a commission were engaged in deliberations, it would hurt ongoing efforts, Negro efforts, that they would be crippled in their fundraising, they would find it difficult to get support. He felt that the effort to give Negroes a sense of pride, a sense of their own national origins, a sense of their participation in the noble stream of history had to come exclusively from within the Negro community and had to come exclusively from Negro leadership. There was no role, he felt, that the Federal Government could play; therefore, he opposed this commission.

Do you agree with those views or do you feel there is a role for such a commission?

Dr. ONYEWU. No: I do not agree with those views for this reason: Such a view would mean cultural nationalism a la Fitche, a German cultural nationalist, who feels that people should evolve their culture exclusively and this would not work. I think the purpose of this commission really is to make America one—namely, you want to collate and collect all the cultural heritage of the various ethnic groups and melt them in the American melting pot. I would support an approach a la Herder, who feels all these heritages are interlinked and intertwined. I think the purpose here is not to bring divisiveness or division, the purpose is to give the Negro a leverage so that he can obtain a beginning clutch for effective integration in the maelstrom of American life by their acceptance of his cultural heritage. This is the view I would espouse.

Mr. SCHEUER. Thank you.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much for your very informative testimony.

Our next witness is William Loren Katz, consultant on American Negro history. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. KATZ. I do not.

Senator PELL. Fine. Proceed as you will.

**STATEMENT OF WILLIAM LOREN KATZ, CONSULTANT ON AMERICAN NEGRO HISTORY, STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION, NEW YORK AND NORTH CAROLINA**

Mr. KATZ. Thank you very much.

I think what we are talking about is neglected history and I would like to point out that it is American history. I do not believe there is any separate Negro history in the United States. I think what we should strive for is to give a fully dimensioned picture of our Nation, a picture that does not exclude anybody who has contributed. But this has not been done by our textbooks. I would like to point out that this is not history for Negroes alone; this is American history and it is for whites and blacks alike. These are the missing pages. This information must stand as history and should be examined by all. I think we must recognize that distortions of the black man's past have led to our current racial crisis. The idea that the Negro had no humanity worth de-

fending was based, at least partly, on the belief that he had no history worth mentioning. Few Americans know that, previous to last year, there were 51 Medal of Honor winners who were black. Five thousand black men fought in the American Revolution—two regiments, Senator Pell, from your own State of Rhode Island. There were black men among the Minutemen at Concord and two black battalions at New Orleans with Andrew Jackson. They successfully fought off the last attempt to invade the United States.

Slaves, with both a stubborn courage and a raw bravery, fought for their own freedom. There were many plots and revolts and a quarter of a million black men served in the Union Army.

I would like to give you an instance of black power that I think should be studied in our schools. A black man named Granville T. Woods helped perfect the third rail. This is entirely neglected in our textbooks and by our teachers.

As a matter of fact, the many contributions of Negroes to the fields of invention and science has been neglected and I feel this is a very significant area. One thousand patents were held by black men in this country just 50 years after emancipation. The first "real McCoy" may well have been the lubricating cup invented by Elijah McCoy, a black man.

One-fourth of the cowboys on the Chisholm Trail were black. They shot up Dodge City, they rode all the trails. I would like to hold up the picture of one of them, Deadwood Dick, who rode with Jesse James and Billy the Kid and knew Bat Masterson and Buffalo Bill.

Senator PELL. Is this the same picture that was in the New York Times a few days ago?

Mr. KATZ. Yes, it is the same gentleman.

Senator Pell. If it is feasible and not at great expense to the tax-payer, we will try to get that picture into the record.

(The illustration referred to appears on the next page.)

Mr. KATZ. As a matter of fact, the man who invented the western sport of bulldogging, which you may recall is leaping from the back of a fast-moving horse onto the horns of a steer and then wrestling him to the ground, was a black cowboy named Bill Pickett. For many years black jockeys won the Kentucky Derby.

Twenty percent of the blue-coated cavalry men who helped tame the West, fighting Apaches, Sioux, Comanches, chasing after Billy the Kid and assorted rustlers, were black. They were led by such white officers as John J. Pershing, who earned the name of Black Jack leading Negro cavalrymen in Montana and at San Juan Hill.

Senator PELL. To interpolate—as you know, I am operating under some pressure. The question of particular importance is how can we get these facts to students so that they can understand the richness of our history and the important role of black people in our Nation's heritage.

Mr. KATZ. Fine. I will get to that. There really is not much of a problem. I think there only has to be a willingness on the part of school administrators. The State of North Carolina asked me to come down to Raleigh a few months ago. They adopted my book, "Eyewitness: The Negro in American History," as a supplementary text to the regular history books and they asked me to draw up a syllabus that placed the material in my book with those books they ordinary

DEADWOOD DICK—"IN MY FIGHTING CLOTHES"



In My Fighting Clothes

use. That really is all that has to be done. Either pick texts that are already integrated, that have much of this material in them, or pick supplementary texts that can be used along with the regular texts. Enough materials are out now and these are on all levels, on elementary, junior high, senior high, and college levels. I think all it really takes is an interest on the part of the administrative powers in each of the educational institutions to make sure these are used. My "Teachers Guide to American Negro History" provides some methodology, bibliography, and helpful hints for teachers.

Senator PELL. If this curriculum enlargement process continues, would there be a need for the Commission to be permanent or could it be of a temporary nature?

Mr. KATZ. I would think that one of the areas that the Commission would want to operate in would not have too much to do with curriculum but would be the preservation of the basic manuscript and important materials about the Negro that are deteriorating now in various libraries. I know that the Shomburg Library in New York and the Negro collection at Howard University are in desperate need of funds to preserve materials that are deteriorating. They need staff people to manage the gigantic load of work that has accumulated. These libraries are understaffed and they do not have sufficient finances. And daily demands on them by students are increasing.

I think another thing that the Commission could do, to get specific again, is that it could make available and collect the main sources of manuscripts in the Negro area so that scholars might find out where certain materials are and therefore have ready access to them. I think these are all things that this Commission might do, that certainly would take some time and money to accomplish.

Senator PELL. As the proposed legislation is written, the Commission is self-liquidating and would not go on indefinitely. The collation of manuscripts is already one of the responsibilities of the National Historical Publications Commission, of which I am a member. It may be able to take a greater interest in this problem, as might the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Congressman Scheuer, do you have any questions for the witness?

Mr. SCHEUER. No, I was very much interested in the testimony as regards the collation of these documents and their preservation. We are faced with a condition, I think, not a theory. The condition is that this work is not being done by the existing Government agencies, not being done by the existing private charity agencies. There is a desperate need for new resources, new leaders, and new direction in the preservation and dissemination of materials. I do not think we can rely on the present institutional network of agencies, both public and private. I believe that this is why we ought to get on with this Commission.

I invite the witness to give his opinion as to whether—I do not mean to put words in your mouth, but whether the existing agencies can do the job or are doing the job?

Mr. KATZ. In preparation for coming here, I spoke to Jean Blackwell Hutson, curator of the Shomburg collection, and Dorothy B. Porter, curator of the Negro collection at Howard University. Both expressed the great desire for me to project their thoughts also on this vital matter, that these materials are deteriorating at this moment,

that their libraries are understaffed, and that once lost, documents can never be regained. You simply cannot regain a manuscript letter that has crumbled in your hands.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much.

Are there any further thoughts you would like to advance, or if you like, you could submit them for the record.

Mr. KATZ. Fine. I would like to make one final comment.

Senator PELL. Please do.

Mr. KATZ. I believe that if we believe that the truth will make us free, this project is one very big step in preserving the truth. If you knew as I do, as a teacher for some 15 years, the effect that these materials can have on youngsters in a classroom, and I mean both black and white, you would know that this material should be preserved, even if it takes the Federal Government to do it.

This morning Senator Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, in his testimony before this committee and Senator Pell holding up the New York Times advertisement that included the picture of Deadwood Dick, pointed to the Arno Press reprint series "The American Negro: His History and Literature." As the general editor of that series I can tell you that the response to the 45 volumes has pleased Mr. Arnold Zohn, president of the Arno Press, myself and the members of our advisory board because so many orders are coming in from southern libraries and schools. It seems that both northerners and southerners are ready for this history now, ready for a fully dimensioned picture of our common heritage. It is certainly about time. If we can learn our history we will not be doomed to repeat it. I have, on the basis of my consultation work for North Carolina, much more faith in the willingness of southerners, black and white, to sit down and work out their problems, develop a meaningful school curriculum, move toward greater integration of their society. I would hope the Federal Government could play a part in preserving these vital materials, aid schools in appropriate ways and use its influence to demonstrate the centrality of this information for an understanding of our country's history.

Thank you.

Mr. SCHEUER. A very brief question. You have dealt with educators. You have dealt with southern educators. Do you feel that if this national commission bill does pass and there is a commission and it comes out with a thoughtful and comprehensive set of recommendations that will command respect, that educators, the kind of educators you have dealt with in the South, would be amenable to deal creatively and constructively with the problem if they had some leadership and direction?

Mr. KATZ. Yes, I think they would. My experience in North Carolina was unusual. I came expecting to find less integration and less willingness than I found in New York and I found more. I think that if the North Carolina Education Department is a valid example of southern wishes the southern authorities are willing to move on this and are anxious to move on it. They are seeking direction and I think some guidelines from the Federal Government might give it a push and a spurt that would be most helpful.

Mr. SCHEUER. Well, we know how they love Federal guidelines.

Senator PELL. I thank you very much indeed. I congratulate you on your son, whom I see looking at you with great pride.

Mr. KATZ. Thank you.

Senator PELL. Our next witness is Mr. Julius Hobson, of Washington, D.C.

**STATEMENT OF JULIUS HOBSON, COMMUNITY LEADER,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.**

Mr. HOBSON. My name is Julius Hobson. I want to thank you very much for an opportunity to appear before this committee.

I also want to say in opening that I support the idea of a commission and it does not make any difference what you call it, as long as it is a commission to deal with what we have here to deal with. The vogue is black this year and preferably in the black community, we like to use the word "black." I am still not too unhappy with the word "Negro." We have even started among us to take some pride in the word "nigger," because it has a special meaning. So it does not matter what you call it, what does matter is what you are trying to do in this bill which I support 100 percent.

I would like to say, and I am sure you are all familiar with Alexander Pope's, "Essay on Man," which he says, know thyself, that the proper study of mankind is man. Among black men in the United States, we have in recent years particularly, attempted to know then ourselves. This whole thrust of the black power movement, this whole upspring of bookstores in the black community such as Drum & Speer on upper 14th Street, and the bookstore on the corner of 7th Avenue and 113th Street in Harlem and the bookstore in Chicago on South Parkway, all contain documents in an attempt on the part of the black community to familiarize themselves with black history. I graduated from Industrial High School in Birmingham, Ala., and my heroes were Robert E. Lee and Booker T. Washington. I come to find that among the Negroes in Washington, Booker T. Washington was a prize Uncle Tom. Robert E. Lee was a general of the Confederacy. We were not even familiar with the white heroes of the North, let alone the black ones.

The question that looms is not whether you have a commission on Negro history and culture but a commission in which you take the history and textbooks which have been written in the United States and clean them up because they are a collection and a tissue of lies if they leave out black history. I think it is a greater question of whether or not we could not really have greater communication between us if we have history books which integrate what black Americans have done in the building of this country. I do not think there is any question about it. I certainly went almost through college before I became aware of and concerned about black history.

I remember when I went into the Air Force in World War II, I was very much ashamed of myself because I happened to come from Alabama and having been put in a class with a group of white men, I really had nothing to offer and I was ashamed of everything that I had been and everything I had done, because I had not been exposed to any black history. I did not think Negroes could do anything but cook. There were a few professors of the third grade among us and preachers. But there was nothing more. That is the story of our clinging to Joe Louis as a hero, for our clinging to Jackie Robinson. It was a search for identity.

I would like to say to you now I believe we have found part of that answer. I think the black power thrust is it. It is a pride in blackness, an attempt in the black community among those who have educated discipline and among those educating themselves to find out about Negro history. That is why I find in these bookstores documents such as "The American Negro Slave Revolts," a document of American Negro history in the United States by Herbert Aptheker, whom I consider one of the foremost authorities on black history in the United States, if not the foremost authority.

I am glad we are going to have a possibility of getting such legislation. I hope that the less popular or the less palatable members of the black community, the black power advocates like Stokeley Carmichael and myself, will have an opportunity to participate in this. Believe it or not, we do have some ideas. I think that the Urban League, the NAACP approach is very good, but I think there is another approach now which pervades the community and which is expressive of the attitude of black people in the United States. I think in the setting up of this kind of commission, these people should be included, because there is no question about it, they do have influence in the community and they do have something to contribute.

If there is anything at all that we can do in our meager way, we will be very glad to do it and more speed to this. We support it 100 percent and we think that there is room in the United States for everybody to do everything.

I do not recognize indigenous black men over indigenous white men. I think everybody is indigenous and you do not have to speak Swahili and have right rhythm in order to appreciate what is going on in the United States among black people or white people. I think that we formalize, some of us, on the basis of our common interest and struggle and not on the basis of the way we look. So that if we have some white professors among us, some white congressmen, white senators, or white anything that want to jump into the mainstream and help to clean up what we know has been an inadequate history of the United States because it has left out black people, then I think the more the merrier.

Thank you.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much for a good and strong statement.

A couple of specific questions:

One, as far as cleaning up the history books goes, I was struck with the task of Mr. Katz in trying to analyze the history books, find the errors and inadequacies and correct them. Do you think this procedure will do the job or do you think textbooks have to be completely rewritten?

Mr. HOBSON. I think I have read some history. I am not an authority on history, not even Negro history. But I certainly was forced to read history, as we all were. That bit that I was forced to read was completely void of any contribution by black people at all. I think now that I have gone out after school and read some books and studied, I know that this history was incomplete. And I think in the interest of truth, which is a larger question, and in the interest of better communications for black as well as white children in the United States, it is incumbent for us to include in all the history books the true history

of the United States, in chronological or historical or any other order. Any history book that does not put that down does not communicate and is not the complete truth. I think this commission could serve to do that.

I think the bottom part of your paragraph, which says to move such data into the mainstream of American life, is the main objective, not necessarily to set up over here on the side of collection of black history per se, but an attempt to put that black history in perspective. Because over on the side, it is really in a vacuum. I think it has to be put in perspective, as the professor did. I learned something here today that I did not know before. Cowboys happen to be some of my heros. I enjoy the blood and thunder of Westerns. I am glad to know that some of the black men contributed to this. I think it should be integrated into American history. I do not think it should be a separate collection.

Senator PELL. As I stated earlier the National Historical Publications Commission could do some work in this field. Indeed they agree with you that it is all American history and would not wish to segregate our heritage.

The fact that you are here indicates that all opinions are honored. Of this I am pleased and would hope that if we are successful in establishing this commission we will retain the interest of the militant, who believe as you do, in the importance of rectification of injustice.

Do you have any views as to whether this task could be made the responsibility of the National Endowment for the Humanities after the commission has finished its study?

Mr. HOBSON. I believe this is such a tremendous task at this point in time that it is necessary that it be kicked off by someone with resources who can afford to do it. I do not know how long it will take before it can be on its way and taken over by private groups. There are a number of private groups engaged in efforts to do this, but it is not coordinated effort. I think with leadership coming from the Federal Government, the rest might fall in and take heed and there may be some coordination of it. But I am not sure. I do not know enough about it to be absolutely certain. But I do know there are pitiful attempts all over the United States at this time for black people to make history and to make such collections as you are talking about.

Senator PELL. The Endowment has already done a fine job in this regard and I look to them as conceivably being the permanent governmental vehicle to do this.

If you had to make a choice between a Commission on Negro History and Culture or a Commission on Black History and Culture, which would you choose?

Mr. HOBSON. I would choose black history and culture.

Senator PELL. Mr. Scheuer?

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Hobson, I think you have told us how it really is and I welcome your testimony. I welcome the support, and I hope you won't consider this a pejorative phrase, of responsible militants like yourself.

Mr. HOBSON. I think that is damaging.

Thank you.

Mr. SCHEUER. I suppose the characterization, responsible militant, could be used against you in some circles.

Mr. HOBSON. Some circles, yes.

Mr. SCHEUER. I hope it will not happen. We do welcome your testimony.

We did have one critical witness on the House side. That was a white who felt the ongoing grassroots efforts, the pitiful attempts as you characterize them, to do this job at the local level would suffer during the year that a commission might be working, that they would have difficulty raising funds, getting volunteers. He also felt that the Federal Government, on the basis of its past performance, could not be trusted to deal even-handedly and fairly and thoughtfully and creatively with this problem and he felt it was a "private affair," this problem of identity and image was a private affair which the Negro community had to handle with its own leadership and within the confines of the Negro community without any outside interference from whites.

Do you disagree or agree with this criticism?

Mr. HOBSON. There are certain questions which come up in the black community which have to be dealt with by black men. But I happen to be one black power advocate that does not go along with the idea that we can do it all by ourselves. I happen to know some Americans who are revolutionary who are interested in change, some inside Government, some outside Government. I have to identify those people on the basis of their records and the history of their struggles. I think that these men meanwhile who say this, but I think that they may not grasp the gravity and the size of such a problem and they may not realize even the problem of coordination.

So I would say as I said in the beginning here, that everybody who wants to make a contribution to bringing about the truth and justice, by all means, let them do it. I think there is room here for everybody.

We have some doctrinaire white liberals and we have some pasteurized Negroes who are in this, some because they have guilt feelings and others because they want jobs and so on. I think there is a danger that if you turn this job over to that kind of individual, the people, the black power people and the people in the community will fall away, because it will be the same old tableau or a variation on the same old theme. But I see no reason why a group like this in all honesty could not try to integrate our history into American history and do it on an honest basis. That is not even a pertinent question, as far as I see it.

Mr. SCHEUER. Thank you for your stimulating testimony.

Senator PELL. Thank you. I hope you will follow the process as the bill moves along. I appreciate your testimony very much.

Is Mr. Ronald Bailey in the audience?

#### STATEMENT OF RONALD BAILEY, TREASURER, BLACK STUDENTS' ALLIANCE, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, MICH.

Mr. BAILEY. My name is Ron Bailey. I am treasurer of the Black Student's Alliance at Michigan State University, although I do not speak in any official capacity.

It is a great pleasure to appear before your subcommittee, Senator Pell, even though I must admit that my remarks have been rather hurriedly organized in the last few minutes, because I feel strongly that there is some place in this hearing for a statement by black college

students. I want to address the importance of Afro-American history and the possible significance of the commission you propose from the standpoint of a college student.

My remarks are rather brief and with your permission, I would like to extend them for inclusion in the record.

One cannot overestimate the importance of black history to the American scene. I am particularly interested in the relationship of black history to college students. As one surveys the recent protests on black campuses throughout the South and among black students of predominantly white campuses in the North, one pervading demand is seen throughout—the demand for the inclusion of those facts which have been distorted, either through commission or omission, into the curriculums of our schools—which I consider to be whitewashed—to make them truly reflect the impact of the Afro-American experience. Mr. Hobson's remarks are illustrative of this point. A thorough reading of black history, including a careful analysis of the ideological debate between W. E. B. DuBois, perhaps the foremost black thinker and Booker T. Washington, the eminent black educationist, will reveal that Mr. Washington is not a prize Tom, but rather a mere product of the prevailing circumstances of his times.

Next, I simply would like to state that I believe the commission would be well received among black college students as long as one word is kept in mind. That word is "relevance." Your commission must truly reflect the aspirations of black Americans as they themselves strive diligently to construct their history that has been ruthlessly torn asunder for one reason or another. This relevance would be reflected in staffing, as Mr. Hobson has stated, to include the widest possible spectrum of those sincerely interested in the study of black history.

Secondly, the Commission should seek out those efforts presently being engaged in by the black community and offer them the types of support, mainly financial, that will assure them of their ultimate success. This consideration is wholly in line with the emphasis on self-assertion now prevalent among black Americans and should be recognized as the force that will ultimately decide the respect that is to be given to black Americans.

Thank you.

Senator PELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Bailey.

Let me ask you this question of the name. Should it be called the Commission on Negro History and Culture or the Commission on Black History and Culture?

Mr. BAILEY. I think you must realize the historical implications of the controversy over the names Negro or black, Afro-American, and the like. Maybe hearings are necessary on the naming of your commission. When somebody says Negro, certain things are brought to mind immediately, mainly the period starting from slavery onward, a period that is still a badge of shame for many black Americans because it is a period characterized by extreme degradation, self-rejection, and really self-destruction. But to someone who has studied black history, the name "Afro-American" points out something—deeper roots, attempts to go back to Africa where black Americans came from originally, and to reestablish those roots and bridge the gap in the recording of the Afro-American experience. This should

be reflected in the commission. I do not think your commission should concern itself only with the American experience of the black American. It should probe further and attempt to point out those facets of the African background that have great relevance to understanding the position of black Americans today. If this is done, the results will surprise almost as many black Americans as whites.

Senator PELL. What would be your recommendation for the name of a commission?

Mr. BAILEY. I would not recommend that it be called the "Commission on Negro History and Culture." I think "Afro-American" would be most in keeping with the purposes that the commission hopes to serve.

I think, however, that the name should be a reflection of majority opinion, not only of black leadership but of the masses of black people.

Senator PELL. The only way we are going to get an opinion is by asking the witnesses.

Mr. BAILEY. That is just this hearing. Maybe a questionnaire to a scientifically chosen sample of black Americans would be in order.

Senator PELL. Thank you.

Senator Williams, do you have any questions?

Senator WILLIAMS. I am not quite clear on the last response.

What does the word "Negro" connote to you?

Mr. BAILEY. To me it connotes one thing. I have been reading black history so I can take the word "Negro" and fit it into context and realize that it was given to the slaves brought over as a general something to call them.

Senator WILLIAMS. What does the word "Negro" mean, Mr. Bailey?

Mr. BAILEY. The word "Negro" comes from the Spanish word meaning "black." That is important, but most people do not realize that. Most people take the word "Negro" and fit it to the period of slavery and then the word "Negro" means somebody who has been kept down, worked hard, given nothing, not allowed to develop his potential—all negative connotations. It is interesting that also attached to this period—and the word "Negro"—is the stereotyped description of Sambo: lazy, shiftless, stupid, and totally unconcerned about his degraded condition. This negativism is the main reason for the stress on words like "black" and "Afro-American." They attempt to wipe out the deleterious notions of the word "Negro" and the period of slavery and to instill, especially in young black people, something of a more positive image of self—an image that has been proven to be essential in the development of one's full potential.

When you say "Afro-American," you go back to Africa—not the barbaric Africa of wild savages, popular still in some of our textbooks, but the Africa that truly reflects to conditions from which black Americans were ruthlessly snatched. You read of a rich cultural heritage, complex socio-political and economic systems, and the like. You say "black" and you think today of the more progressive stance toward obtaining rights guaranteed to every citizen, not only in recent years, but in the periods where Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, and countless others raised their voices in protest over America's racist practices. But the word "Negro" conjures up more negative thoughts than positive ones, and because it was a name assigned to black Americans by whites—mainly in the interest of expediency—it

can never have a fully positive connotation, at least not for me. This has been quite unfortunate for the development of black Americans, I think.

Senator WILLIAMS. Unfortunately, I could not be here through your entire testimony. But I think he made a good suggestion on the Afro-American.

I have a statement I would like to include in the record at this point. Senator PELL. With no objection, so ordered.

(The statement referred to follows:)

**STATEMENT OF HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., A U.S. SENATOR  
FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY**

Senator WILLIAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is indeed most refreshing to hear this type of blunt and forthright testimony on a subject which has for too long been allowed to lie dormant. I had always thought that our children were receiving an all encompassing education; however, it is now clear that such is not the case.

Until recently there was little discussion of the role played by American Negroes in the development of our country and what information was available was known to a few scholars and was not used as instructional material.

This situation I speak of is changing, but is there enough change and is it at a speed which is acceptable? Within the last year, this committee heard testimony from a man who was fired from his teaching position for including Negro-oriented material. The suburbs around Washington are only now recognizing the need for change in instructional material.

It is fitting to note at this point that part I of the CBS News TV show, "Of Black America—Black History Lost, Stolen, or Strayed," will be rebroadcast this evening at 10 p.m.

Chairman Pell and the sponsors of this bill are to be congratulated for this hearing today.

Senator PELL. Congressman Scheuer?

Mr. SCHEUER. I have very much appreciated your testimony. I think it was great that we heard from a young black, a young Afro-American. It helps us old fellows in the 40 years to breach the generation gap. I was most interested in your testimony.

Senator WILLIAMS. You work with the Joint Economic Committee?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; I am an intern this summer.

Senator WILLIAMS. You go to the University of Michigan?

Mr. BAILEY. No; Michigan State University.

Senator WILLIAMS. Obviously, you are a valued member of that staff. This is an intern program?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes, Senator Williams.

Senator WILLIAMS. Obviously, you are a valued member of the staff of that committee.

Where are you from?

Mr. BAILEY. Originally? Claxton, Ga.

Senator WILLIAMS. Your home is where?

Mr. BAILEY. Claxton, Ga.

Senator WILLIAMS. I wish I had heard all of your statement, but I will read it in the record.

**MR. BAILEY.** My statement was rather short, because I wrote it in the last 4 minutes, but I would like permission to extend it in the record.

**Senator PELL.** Thank you very, very much, Mr. Bailey.

(The material referred to follows:)

**PREPARED STATEMENT OF RONALD BAILEY, TREASURER, BLACK STUDENTS' ALLIANCE,  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN**

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity to offer a statement in support of S. 2979, establishing a Commission of Negro History and Culture. I wish to state initially that reference to my position as treasurer and as a member of the Steering Committee of the Black Students' Alliance at Michigan State is made solely for purposes of identification. My comments should be construed as representing no other opinion but my own.

Although I represent no group opinion, I do feel, however, that my present status as a college student is of some uniqueness in this hearing.

It is seemingly customary to mention a few personal facts. I do so only for the purpose of providing a biographical context in which the comments that follow may be clearly understood. I am twenty years old, a senior at Michigan State, and a liberal arts major, with an economics concentration. I have plans to enter law school in 1969. I am a native of Claxton, Georgia, and a graduate of Evans County High School, very small and all black.

I mention these facts because it might be of interest to the Subcommittee that my deep interest in black history and culture is certainly not a scholarly one but one that is rooted in, and conditioned by, the fact of my blackness.

The sponsors of this bill, S. 2979, are to be congratulated on the timeliness of their efforts. Interest in black history and culture in America is certainly at a high point. This has been most recently demonstrated by the decision of the U.S. Riot Commission to spend considerable time during its hearings on the topic of black history as it relates to the events of today. Manifestations of black selfhood and identification among young and old are certainly almost wholly responsible for this rising tide of interest. In an attempt at conciseness, I wish to submit three articles to illustrate the contextual framework in which current discussions of Afro-American history and culture occur. The series appeared in the *Michigan State News* during Negro History Week, February 14, 15, and 16, 1968. Their titles were "Point of View: Accent on Fact Needed," "Closing America's History Gap," and "What Is To Be Done." I am also submitting a paper that will discuss some significant effects of the study of black history.

My comments on the proposed legislation consist of several observations that I feel should be made and a discussion of the various arguments that might be used for and against the bill.

The Committee should be informed, although I am sure that my doing so is only a reiteration, that these efforts in this field, are by no means the first, and certainly not the most exhaustive. Recognition of this fact will be a key factor in the Commission's acceptance by the black community. Black Americans have long been interested in the study and teaching of their history. This interest found expression most notably in the founding of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History by Dr. Carter G. Woodson in 1915.

Other equally noble efforts have followed, especially the International Afro-American Museum, Inc., with which I have had contact in Michigan. I mention this point because the current stress on self-assertion in the black community categorically rules out any undertaking that is not cognizant of these black initiated efforts. I feel this rejection is justifiable, as I will discuss below.

The Committee should also be made aware that the probable effects of this bill and the proposed Commission on easing the current state of social unrest is more than likely to be infinitely small and certainly not immediately discernible. Although I am convinced that, as enlightened sponsors of the bill, you view it as only an initial step toward righting the many wrongs in the recording of America's history, many of your colleagues might choose to thrust upon S. 2979 the heavy burden that should more be borne by all-out efforts to restructure the fabric of urban society. Those who do are likely to be quite disappointed.

It cannot be denied, in my opinion, that the Commission you propose has great potential. Perhaps the strongest argument for its establishment is rooted in the prestige that is attached to Presidentially-appointed Commissions. This enhances their access to needed sources of information, primarily, but serves a far more

significant function. It would serve to demonstrate to all Americans that the study of black history and culture is indeed a topic of national concern. It is very unfortunate, however, that a Presidentially-appointed Commission is needed to convince the country that an understanding of the Afro-American experience is quite essential to America's survival just as it was that a Commission was needed to point out the significance of the underlying premise of racism in her existence.

I imagine that many of your opponents will argue that what you propose is completely unnecessary because "what we want to do is integrate." I would welcome the day when special commissions and other efforts not only in the area of black history and culture, but in economic development, political development, and the like, would not be needed. But this is not presently a realistic position. Until the goal of true incorporation of the role of black Americans into the history of this country is achieved, as well as the complete and equal inclusion into the social, political, and economic mainstream, until then, these special efforts will indeed be necessary.

This leads immediately to perhaps my biggest concern. Granted that these efforts are much needed, the operational question then becomes: Who is to be responsible for such efforts? Many Afro-Americans argue, and justifiably so, that the effect of such proposed efforts is to displace currently operating black-initiated efforts in this area. These arguments are based on bitter experience with past Federal efforts in similar areas in which the initiative for particular projects should have come from the people themselves. This perhaps is the most fundamental question to be resolved in the establishing of a Commission on Afro-American History and Culture and embraces the concept of "relevance."

The most relevant function of the Commission would certainly be that of recommending those services that supplement and support the on-going efforts in the black community to correct the hiatus of its treatment in American history. Illustrative examples are abundant. Components of the mass media in this country—television, newspapers, textbooks, and the like—are controlled by white America, as are most instruments of power and influence. The Commission should thus consider a recommendation of Administrative guidelines or Congressional enactment of *minimum* federal standards covering those media industries which assume some primacy in the shaping of racial attitude in America. This would seem a feasible means toward the stated and implied ends for of S2979, and be wholly in step with the enactment of Federal standards for meat inspection, truth-in-lending, and similar activity.

Moreover, activity of the Commission in the area of financing existing efforts would be of much benefit. But the fact remains that decisions of what should be financed, and what should not must ultimately be in the hands of those people who are most directly involved—black Americans. A thorough understanding and recognition of this fact forms the needed groundwork for the success of the Commission.

To summarize the above comments I feel simply that the Commission should serve more to sponsor the needed conferences, compile the consensus reached, and recommend those measures considered most desirable by a cross-section of black America.

Another consideration about the relevance of the Commission involves its members. The bill states that it will be composed of "eleven members, appointed by the President from persons who are authorities on Negro history and culture." I disagree with this language because of the academic connotations of the words "authority on Negro history and culture." Many people would have no doubt called Henry Steele Commager and Samuel Eliot Morrison "authorities on Negro history." It was their textbook *Growth of the American Republic* that referred to black Americans in Reconstruction as "Sambo" and said that we were entirely apathetic about the social struggle of the period.

My point is that academic credentials are not enough. I would argue strongly for student representation on the proposed Commission. The campus disturbances and protests involving black students' demands for a truer reflection of the Afro-American experience in the curriculums of colleges and secondary schools indicates, I feel, a certain level of sincere interest and concern needed to serve effectively on this Commission.

In closing, let me comment briefly on an important aspect of the topic we are discussing. The study, learning, and understanding of black history and culture is a continuous process. As such, it points up the possibility that historical recording of the Afro-American experience, after having lagged so far behind historical accuracy and factual completeness, might never be able to catch up.

Now, in our attempts to "update" history, we are finally told that, "Yes, indeed, there was a Charles Drew whose work with blood plasma saved untold thousands of lives during World War II." But, in our haste to undo the injustices of the past, the story of Dr. Drew is never completed to reveal that he died in an Atlanta hospital because white racists refused a black man the benefit of the blood transfusion on which he had worked so diligently in life.

My point is that the mere recitation of the names of black Americans who have discovered various States, invented the traffic light, or contributed to the cultural development of this country is not the ultimate concern. The facts cannot be fully appreciated unless they are viewed in the entire framework of American history and their great impact on this history is carefully assessed.

The contributions of Afro-Americans to this country were, in the final analysis, made as Americans, thus making black history not a thing apart, but rather an integral portion of America's history. A recognition of this fact and a determined effort to bring this realization to all Americans is an important step in assuring America's continued prosperity and growth.

It is my opinion that S. 2979 is a manifestation of this recognition on a level that will assure some enlightenment of the American people. I offer my full support and urge the passage of this legislation.

## SERIES OF THREE ARTICLES FROM THE MICHIGAN STATE NEWS, BY RONALD W. BAILEY\*

[Feb. 14, 1968]

### POINT OF VIEW: ACCENT ON FACTS NEEDED

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: Ron Bailey, Claxton, Ga., junior, is president of MSU's chapter of Blue Key national honorary, member of the Honors College, and a justice on the Student-Faculty Judiciary. He also is treasurer of the newly-formed MSU Black Student Alliance.

Let's test ourselves!

Who discovered the states of Arizona and New Mexico?

Who was the first man to set foot on the North Pole?

Who was the first person shot and killed during the Boston Massacre?

Who wrote the second book of verse published by any woman in colonial America?

The answers to the above questions clearly refer to persons who have made significant contributions to America in the fields of exploring, politics, and literature. But there is something else common to those names that will correctly answer these questions, something that is not very widely known: all were Negro Americans.

This week, Feb. 11-18, has been declared Negro History Week in a proclamation issued by Lt. Gov. William Milliken. However, Michigan's observance is by no means the first and certainly not an isolated phenomenon. This series of articles will share with you some thoughts about the origins of this annual observance and its significance.

Negro History Week was first launched in 1926. It was originated by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, noted black historian internationally known as the "Father of Negro History," who had organized the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in 1915. Appropriately, the observance was designed to embrace the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln (Feb. 12) and Frederick Douglass (Feb. 14), an outspoken black abolitionist.

The week has been characteristically a brief period devoted to exercises emphasizing to the public the salient facts of history influenced by Negroes. Information and suggestions are sent to educational institutions, boards of education, teachers, libraries, press, and many other groups in an effort to obtain as extensive a coverage as possible. Now, in its 42nd year, Negro History Week has retained these efforts but today they are more popular, more effective, and much more needed than ever.

Why the need for a special week, many ask. Wouldn't it be better to present information about the Negro in the United States and his background in the regular study of history where it belongs? Indeed it would! But until the goal of true incorporation of the role of black Americans into the regular course of study is achieved, until the omissions, distortions, and unmitigated lies are completely removed from our sources of information and accurate roles based on fact are instituted, until then, the Negro History Week celebration will be necessary.

The "Myth of the Negro Past," according to Melville Herskovits, validates the concept of Negro inferiority. It states that Negroes are naturally of a childlike character, and easily adjust to the most unsatisfactory social conditions, which they accept happily and readily, without retaliation similar to that of the American Indian. The myth asserts that only the poorer stock of Africa was enslaved and that this stock could never have developed socially because of their vastly differing tribal origins. The African cultures were so savage and so low a civilization as compared to the superiority of European customs, the myth continues, that this caused Africans to give up completely their aboriginal traditions.

Hence, according to the "myth of the Negro past," the black man in America has no significant history. It is this faulty conclusion and the mythical assumptions that lead to it that I wish to take up next. It is becoming increasingly evident that black Americans are no longer content to "stay in their place," a place that has been rather errantly defined by American historians. It is this re-definition of roles, past and present, and this re-specification of wants and expectations by Negroes that, to a very great extent, shape the perimeters of current trends in race relations.

Tomorrow : Closing America's history gap.

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[Feb. 15, 1968]

#### POINT OF VIEW : CLOSING AMERICA'S HISTORY GAP

Yesterday I attempted to establish the general framework in which Negro History has existed. Today let me discuss two areas that historians should have included more fully in that framework—African cultural heritage and the Negro American's role in this country.

No other phase of Negro history has undergone such a thorough reassessment as our African background, especially that area of the West Coast that comprises the ancestral homelands of the American Negro. This is one of the most sorely neglected areas in American social studies and this neglect is particularly grievous today when one out of every ten citizens in the United States is of African ancestry.

Until recently, the notion generally held was that when Europeans journeyed down the African West Coast they found the natives existing in states of barbarism and primitive savagery. Most people have since thought of Africa and its inhabitants as having lagged far behind ever since the march of civilization commenced. The belief that black Africa, and its transplants in America, have no history is rooted in the colonial subordination resulting from the advent of European conquest and the efforts of devout and "humane" Europeans to convince themselves of the innate inferiority of the natives and the valuelessness of their traditions.

#### VIEWS REFUTED

These outmoded views are constantly being refuted. The culture of Western Africa, it has been shown, has exhibited a degree of complexity that places them high in the ranks of societies with comparable techno-literate levels of sophistication. Their achievements include a well-organized economic life, political systems under codes of law, a complex system of religious belief and practice, and a high development in many of the arts.

But this description of ancient Africa is vastly different from the distorted and incomplete representation that many scholars, some without malice or contempt, have perpetuated. In the past, all that has been associated with black Africa has been taken to connote an unwanted past. Even today to mention slavery or Africa to some Negroes sets up tensions. Africa to many is still a badge of shame : it is a painful reminder of a savage past not remote enough to have become enshrined and much too recent to have been forgotten.

This ill-begotten view is reversing. The informed Negro—indeed, the informed American—no longer wishes to deny or deprecate the past of black Americans. The results of having accepted the myth that the Negro is a man without a past have shaped the attitudes of whites toward Negroes and the attitudes of Negroes toward themselves. This denied past should serve as a psychological support for the present and explain peculiar cultural traits of Negroes. Therefore, when our entire cultural ancestry is recognized with pride, the cultural differences that black Americans exhibit today are also regarded with pride. We are thus realizing all that is black is not bad, and in fact, "blackness," as defined by a deep apprecia-

tion of Afro-African Afro-American cultural heritage, "is a beautiful thing—if you can dig it!"

#### REAPPRAISAL ROLE

Just as the African background is undergoing a reappraisal, so too is the role of Negroes in the building of America. Textbooks used in schools and colleges throughout the nation show gross neglect in the omission of facts and in the use of pictures accurately depicting the Negro in America. A few attempts have been made at correcting the situation but overall, black history is not sufficiently dealt with.

Because of the lack of widely published information on Negro history, many students and adults alike assume that the first Negroes in America were slaves. This is incorrect. Negroes were here in the exploration period with Spanish, French, and Portuguese explorers. A group of Negroes and Spaniards formed a settlement on the coast in 1526, prior to the establishment of Jamestown in 1607.

Although the treatment given the Negro in history books has somewhat improved, it has not succeeded in tearing down the "myth of the Negro past." Slavery, for example, was a deplorably degrading institution, yet many interpretations cling to the romanticized version of a happy slave life, thus supporting the view that Negroes accepted docilely with a shuffle and a "yas suh."

Too few books pay enough attention to the participation of black Americans in their own struggle for freedom, leading both students and adults to conclude that the abolition movement was solely a white affair. The evils of slavery and the resulting debasement cannot be fully presented without pointing out the fierce resistance that it generated among Negroes. The slave revolts led by blacks like Gabriel, Denmark Vessey, and Nat Turner are not mentioned as an antidote to the myth of complete acceptance of the degraded slave life.

The Civil War era and the Reconstruction period certainly merit a more extensive coverage of Negro endeavors. Approximately 200,000 blacks fought on the side of the North in the war. The belief that the Civil War was fought over Negroes and for them pervades American society. Older, traditional viewpoints have also depreciated the role of black legislators during Reconstruction but now their role in the politics of that era is being viewed in a different light.

#### HISTORICALLY BELONG

I could continue through two world wars right up to the present day citing cultural, political, literary, and other achievements of Negroes in America. But the upshot of this listing should already be discernable: that, in a historical sense, black Americans "belong." He identifies with America because he has for a long time contributed much to its building. Negroes have existed somewhat as a nation within a nation. However, their sincere efforts to convince white Americans that they were deserving of those blessings that are the documented tenants underlying America's existence have meant a great deal to this country's progress. But black Americans are still in quest of these blessings.

The restoration of black Americans to our rightful place in history will do much to balance the story of America's development. The granting of all blessings promised to her rightful citizens will do as much, if not more, to continue it.

Tomorrow: What is to be done.

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[Feb. 16, 1968]

#### WHAT IS TO BE DONE

The previous articles have dealt with Negro History Week and several related aspects in a retrospective fashion. Today, let me discuss topics of current consideration—the effects of the past treatment given Negro history and the correction of present conditions.

The systematic suppression of facts about the past of Negroes has been quite detrimental to America for it has resulted in the reliance on convenient stereotypes and generalizations in race relations. The "myth of the Negro past" is undoubtedly one of the main buttresses of racial prejudices in this country. It rationalizes discrimination, affects the outcome of policy where blacks are concerned, and was chiefly responsible for the role that Negroes were assigned by earlier historians. These historians were content to rely on assumption rather than fact. Generations of Americans have been just as content to repeat these unproven propositions concerning Negro cultural endowment and the Negro past

without further investigation. These scholars of history summarily concluded that nothing of Africa could have possibly remained as an influencing factor in the life of Negroes in America.

Consequently, this conclusion led historians to a biased recording and interpretation of occurrences in American history. Black children beginning initial studies in American history not only get the erroneous impression that they had no past before slavery, but are convinced that their history in this country is not worth the trouble it takes to learn of it. The results of this for the Negro have been tragic. Generations of black youth—potential scholars, teachers, businessmen all—have been irrevocably scarred by the psychological manifestations of a history-less past and swept into the abyss of nobodiness. What, then, is to be done to correct these conditions?

#### LEADERSHIP FROM EDUCATION

It falls upon American education, and rightfully so, to take a leadership role in removing the scars that have resulted. Negro history is not a thing apart, but an area of specialization dealing with interactions between the Negro and the various other peoples and institutions in American life. Like all history, Negro history is an enormous body of knowledge requiring both systematic and continuous study using all of the methodological resources of the discipline.

The approach adopted by educators and scholars must of urgent necessity be multi-faceted and executed at all levels. While the learned research into the African existence and the experience of Afro-Americans has inestimable benefit, its publication in journals of history cannot alone be expected to alleviate the problem. Some restructuring of the curriculums of all our nation's schools is in order so that they may be expanded to include what has been neglected.

A major thrust should occur in the colleges of education. These institutions of teacher training must make their students aware of the need for knowledge and appreciation of African culture and its significance to the American Negro.

Too few American Negroes, let alone their white compeers, are aware of the depth and grandeur of African cultural achievements.

American textbook publishers should also play a key role in bridging the gap between the facts that are known and the myths that are taught. Some textbooks still perpetuate the myth of white supremacy. The fact remains, I guess, that white supremacy and Negro cultural depreciation in our textbooks will not be abolished until authors, editors, publishers, and dealers decide that they are not willing to trade humane principles for the dollars of racialist bigots.

#### WHO BENEFITS?

Negro Americans will certainly benefit if their African cultural heritage and their past as black Americans is fully known, understood, and respected. This respect cannot help emerging into a strong feeling of black pride—a consciousness that will counteract the deleterious negative self-image rooted in the peculiar institution of slavery.

Personally, a knowledge of my race's history, incomplete as it is, has ignited in me a desire to contribute meaningfully to the world, to America, and especially to the general welfare of my race as my ancestors have done. I sometimes ponder how many more black Americans could have contributed to this country had not we been shackled in chains of slavery and relegated to a bare existence on the fringes of American society. But such noble efforts in the face of great adversity makes the bountiful fruits of their labors much sweeter and more cherished than ever.

The results of restoring the neglected facts of history will be of benefit to America. Only those who know the exact facts of history can understand fully the problems of the past, and aid in understanding the present. The social ills of America today are rooted both in problems of the past and in complexities of the present. "To promote an appreciation of the Negro's past, to encourage an understanding of his present status, and to enrich the promise of the future" should indeed be the goals of every American.

An important lesson in Negro history study is that many of today's events and the black social thought which shapes them are really revivals of earlier traditions. I am reminded particularly of the parallel between the current means-ends debate in the black struggle for human rights and the ideological conflict which existed between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois. The present stress

on "black togetherness" is very similar to the stress on racial solidarity and cooperation over a hundred years ago.

The many resolutions on self-help passed this summer at the National Conference on Black Power in Newark are almost identical to those passed by the Afro-American League in 1890. But one is capable of learning from Negro history that as far as black self-help, racial solidarity, and self-determination is concerned, it is possible to be a "race man" without being a racist. A careful persual of Negro history will reveal that even the current theme of "Black Power" is not a novelty but rather a continuing refrain in the history of American blacks. These facts of the past have remained and will always remain the same. It is how we relate them to our present condition that will change, hopefully for the better.

#### PURPOSE

"The purpose of Negro History Week," in the words of its originator, Dr. C. G. Woodson, "is to promote the history of the Negro to the point when Negro History Week will no longer be necessary." Indeed, I would welcome the day when a special effort to direct attention to the fact that the Negro has always been a part of American history will be no longer needed. Dr. Woodson also felt that "we should emphasize not Negro history, but the Negro in history."

An "accent on the Negro," is not needed. I am calling simply for a long overdue "accent on facts." When facts are presented, the case of the black American takes care of itself. Still, all segments of this society must ultimately work together if we are to ever achieve its professed aims. Negro History Week assumes increasing importance in the interim for, as aptly summarized by Vice-President Hubert Humphery, "the shared pride in Negro history and achievement is a solid foundation upon which to build a new and healthy climate of mutual respect and understanding among all elements of society."

#### FUNCTIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF BLACK HISTORY, SUBMITTED BY RONALD W. BAILEY

History, especially as I have known the discipline, has always been rather narrowly defined, or at least narrowly construed. I have always seen it as that branch of knowledge that records and explains, in a systematic and chronological fashion, past events in the unfolding of human activities. Included as a major component of this recording is perhaps something of a philosophical explanation of the cause and origin of the events themselves.

It is becoming increasingly evident, in my opinion, that one is no longer to be allowed the luxury of being able to so clearly "segmentize" the various branches of knowledgeable endeavor. Traditional disciplines are over-lapping, and necessarily so, and our efforts to accept, adapt, or fight this fact, as the case may be, must begin with this realization.

"History is the matrix of our very lives."<sup>1</sup> From it, we gain some conception of the ideas and modes of existence we must live with. History lends some continuity to life. Similarly, we are in a fashion trapped by manifestations of our civilization and culture over which we have had very little control. As we reflect on the world situation today and extend our reflections to include the world as we would want tomorrow, we must consider the facts of the past. History, therefore, enables one to better relate to the reality of things.

The study of Black History has assumed a much greater proportion of my interest over the last year. It is not surprising that my increased interest seems to parallel that of the entire country. Some writers have stated "that today we are witnessing somewhat of a boom in Negro history, a boom which shows no signs of abating."<sup>2</sup> If one refers back to my definition of history above, such occurrences as the "boom" in the study of Black History can not be without cause. This leads to, in a sense, another observation, albeit inexperienced, that I have made about much that is called history: a seeming preoccupation with the causes of various events, with little or no major attempts to equally treat their effects.

This may serve to introduce the purpose of this paper. Contradictions seem somewhat apparent in the rise of Black history. Some scholars hold that "the current civil rights revolution has brought with it a heightened interest in the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Arthur Adams, *Introductory Remarks to History 400-H* (Fall 1967). Michigan State University, E. Lansing, Michigan.

<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Quarles, "The Future of the Negro Past," *Negro Digest*, February 1968, p. 34.

Negro's role in the American past,"<sup>3</sup> while others seem to imply that it has rather been the "growing interest in Africa and a rediscovery of the lost African heritage launched the spread of Black consciousness among young civil rights militants."<sup>4</sup> Upon reflection, the two statements are not so much revealing of a contradiction as they are of a different type of relationship. That is, it can hardly be gain-said that the study of Black history and the current movement of "civil rights" are all but inextricably bound to each other. An understanding of one requires thorough consideration of the other.

This has led me to consider some aspects of this interrelation rather than attempt to construct a heavily-documented, scholarly jaunt into some phase of history, which would probably, upon having been read by an historian, be considered seemingly plagiarized and rather superficial at best. My primary aim is to discuss the functional implications of the increased study of Black history to our social order. Because of the current debate in the area of social inquiry, the term "function" should be clarified. For the purposes of this paper, function can be defined as that activity which is considered useful for the achievement of certain purposes. This definition, at best, is still rather hazy but hopefully its meaning will sharpen in the use of the concept.

By far the most fundamental notion that has struck some Americans about the topic on which I am writing is that the study of Black history fulfills the very important function of aiding in the development of a strong, positive self-image among black people in America. Any discussion of this aspect really tends to be an ingroup discussion for black people, but possibly others may be enlightened by listening in. Perhaps the major tenet of the current concept of Black Power is this drive toward self-development and self-respect.

It is all but impossible to remember the number of times I have heard both White and black Americans deprecate the past and present role of black people in this country. This was done by whites and allowed by blacks because of ignorance—an ignorance that did not know of the many riches contained in the African and Afro-American experience. The rate at which black America has been sensitized to the many atrocities and injustices she has suffered may be mainly attributed to the completeness of this ignorance. This veil of ignorance is now being lifted and "even when one acknowledges how grotesquely slow is the pace at which black people are moving on to the American stage, the knowledge of their history is still absolutely dispensable as they proceed."<sup>5</sup>

It is psychologically important, I think, for black children to be systematically exposed to the history of their forefathers. To ask a child to face the realities of American racism today, though often very subtle in a state of historical amnesia is tantamount to relegating that child to a permanent second-class existence. It is both necessary and healthy that black youth have at least a historical overview that will explain the existence of the hatred and fear that they will inescapably see and feel in the black community.

The implications of a strong, positive self-image rooted in a historically valid knowledge of the Afro-American existence for black self-development have been discussed by many social scientists. The development of other ethnic groups in America, as compared to the black minority, has been sometimes attributed to the fact that they came to America with a history and culture still intact and capable of supporting them as they weathered the storms that all ethnic groups must, to become fully incorporated into the American mainstream. For black Americans, however, attempts to re-establish his heritage and counteract the abortive effects of an almost complete separation from it are only now beginning to bear fruit. The harvest time is right, and the fruit is ripe!

While the self-image enhancement of black Americans is probably most important, the effects that the increased study of black history has had in restructuring the frame of reference used by whites to control racial relations in America is clearly a significant consideration. Without even a sketchy knowledge of black history, many conservative and, indeed, liberal whites are apt to think they are doing black America a "favor" by tokenly integrating schools, business corporations and the like. If they were aware of the "real deal" in American history, they would readily admit that the blood, sweat, and tears of black Americans have watered and enriched the soil of this country to such a great extent that black people should own a major portion of the entire country. Is it not really the black men who is doing the favor, that of allowing white America one more

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> John Herrick Clarke, "The Search for Africa", *Negro Digest*, February 1968, p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> Vincent Harding, "The Uses of the Afro-American Past", *Negro Digest*, February 1968, p. 6.

chance to do justice to a people graced through their toil for this country and the wrongs that an ungrateful country has visited upon him.

The second aspect of the study of black history I wish to discuss is one that is international in scope. Black history provides a needed link with the rest of thereby fulfilling the function of stimulating the struggle for human rights. It is not a too easily discernable fact, especially when one employs the highly developed method of selective perception as most Americans do, that the vast majority of the earth's humiliated and oppressed people in the last few centuries the "third world"—the humiliated and oppressed, the colonized and exploited, have been non-white, and their humiliation has been the result of oppression by the white, mainly western world.<sup>6</sup>

That the role of America in this oppression has been nothing less than that of fearless leader makes it "obvious that one of America's most critical blind areas is in the realm of understanding the oppressed, the wretched of the earth."<sup>7</sup> Harding draws several very thought provoking-implications from this observation, the broadest and perhaps the most relevant at the present moment being:

"If there is any real concern among the American people to understand why men are determined to fight bombers with rifles and curses, why revolutions seem to grow wherever America's footprints mark the earth, then the Afro-American story is essential reading."<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, America is perhaps fortunate to have in her midst the one source that may very well prove to be her salvation because of the link to the "alienated, humiliated and rebellious non-white world" that Black America could serve. Harding pushes his point further by asserting that by failing to fully explore this link, America might continue to be puzzled at the world's disbelief concerning our "sudden devotion to the rights of self-determination for the non-white masses of Vietnam." Along this line there is one thing I am sure of: many black Americans are damn puzzled.

But the careful reading of black history must also serve to remind black Americans that they, too, are the children of oppressed and humiliated and stand in solidarity with others all over the world. In fact, black America because of their unique juxtaposition in white America, must serve as a vanguard for the "Third World." Black history and the lesson to be learned from its study must cause black Americans to reaffirm their belief in its own humanity and rededicate themselves to the removal of oppression from the face of the earth.

In my opinion, Black History serves the function of providing America with a touchstone for the purpose of judging the genuineness of its own history, indeed, of its very existence. It cannot be gainsaid that the history of America—and the black man's contribution to it—has not occurred in a segregated manner. The black man's contribution to this country was made as an American—and should be recorded and recognized as such. Black history has not been and is not a thing apart. It is rather a thread, a very dominant one among many threads, that are now inextricably woven into the fabric of American society. This realization, though much too recent, is leading to a thorough re-evaluation of American history and a reassessment of the whole American experience that it purports to record.

The parallels between this re-evaluation and reassessment of history and a similar process occurring in a re-examination of America in general is aptly expressed by the contention "that an American history which cannot contain the full story of the black pilgrimage is no more worthy of life than an American society that cannot bear the full and troublesome black presence in its midst."<sup>9</sup> This quote is a most suitable point of departure as we discuss the last aspect of black history's functions.

A last function, fundamental to the existence of any ordered state, is served by the study of black history. This is the providing of a factual basis with which the past can be studied, the present understood, and more importantly, on which the future can be erected. The parameters of racial relations in America today and the entire contextual framework of society are shaped by many complexities. These complexities are rooted in the past and manifested in the present, making for a host of situations that can easily escape even the most scrutinizing analysis by an untrained eye. It is my contention that every American citizen should be armed with those tools that enable him to unravel the intricacies of American

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

racial relations today, regardless of how small they may appear, so that he, too, man contribute meaningfully to the alleviation of the problems we now face. Black history stands today as that most important tool!

Not very much can be expected when we ask someone who is not too well informed of the past, and its relationship to the present, to direct our course for the future. The implications of the importance of Black American history in the shaping of the present was probably best demonstrated by the fact that the U.S. Riot Commission spent over a full day of testimony and devotes an entire chapter of their report to an historical sketch of the black man's experiences on the American scene. This represents, in my opinion, a recognition of reality at the level of policymaking where it counts. Hopefully, it is but one initial sign of a widening consciousness that will engulf all of America.

In the final analysis, whether or not an activity is judged functional depends on whether it tends to contribute to the maintenance of American society. It is much too early for such an assessment of the study of Black history to occur. However, indications are that, especially for the black people of America and oppressed people of the world, the accelerated interest in Black history will be of great benefit. But perhaps the study of Black history and the lessons learned from it will not yield the fruits of progress but rather those of hatred and utter indignation. Maybe Black history will be that final spark needed to ignite the entire world in a battle of the "haves" and the "have nots," the oppressed and the oppressors.

Whatever may be the possibilities, black Americans owe no guarantees to anyone that only good will come from the study of Black history. Hopefully truth will come—a truth that will provide a sounder foundation for our future than the one on which our past is built. Anyway, white America has had her chance!

Senator PELL. Is there anyone in the room who would like to testify?

If, not, the record will be kept open for the prepared statements of those who could not appear, supplementary statements, and other pertinent material submitted for the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS,  
Washington, D.C., July 24, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,

*Chairman, Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, Labor and Public Welfare Committee, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I was delighted to learn that your subcommittee conducted hearings on S. 297, a bill which would establish a commission on Negro history and culture. I regret that I was not able to testify at those hearings.

I am persuaded that there is urgent need for a commission of the kind which this bill would establish. Much more important, I am convinced that the recognition that such a commission would help bring to the contributions of Negro Americans to American life is long past due.

At my request, a member of my staff, wrote to Mr. Jackie Robinson, Chairman of a Committee to Support a Commission on Negro History and Culture, briefly outlining the reasons I endorse this legislation. I enclose a copy of that letter and ask that it be made part of the record of the hearings on S. 297.

I sincerely hope that this bill will soon be reported so that the Senate can take action before adjournment.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. L. BARTLETT,  
U.S. Senator.

U.S. SENATE,  
Washington, D.C., July 19, 1968.

MR. JACKIE ROBINSON,

*Chairman, Committee To Support a Commission on Negro History and Culture, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. ROBINSON: You may already have heard that Senator Bartlett is ill and not expected to return to his office for quite some time. I have talked with him about your letter of July 15, urging his support of Senator Scott's bill calling

for establishment of a commission on Negro history and culture, and he has asked that I assure you that the bill has his enthusiastic and unqualified endorsement.

The Senator's illness, unfortunately, precludes his taking any active part in the hearings being conducted on July 23 by the Arts and Humanities Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. I know, however, that were he able, the Senator would want to participate in those hearings.

The gross neglect of the Negro's contributions to American life has distressed Senator Bartlett for some time. If it were only neglect, the Senator may not have been so greatly disturbed, but it is and has been something much more insidious. Deliberate lies, horrible distortions, and false images born of ignorance and pious condescension have created and perpetuated monstrous myths which bear no resemblance to reality. It is the destruction of these myths and the propagation of truth, the whole truth, that Senator Bartlett hopes will be begun through the commission which Senator Scott proposes.

If Senator Bartlett is able to return to the Senate by the time this bill is considered on the floor, you may be sure that he will vote in favor of it.

With very best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN A. DYER,  
*Legislative Assistant to Senator E. L. Bartlett.*

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID FROELICH, SCHOOL TEACHER, BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Although the American Negro has long been denied equal rights and opportunities, in every endeavor and walk of American life, it seems to me, that the American Negro is, as other ethnic groups are, a part of the whole, which we call America. To make amends now, for past errors and inequities, no matter how grievous, by creating a special Commission or by offering special courses is not solving the existing problem.

It is my considered judgment, that the creation of such a Commission would create a sort of discrimination in reverse. Were we to establish a special course in our educational institutions on Negro History; were we to create a special Commission on Negro History and Culture, would we then not place the American Negro above and beyond other American ethnic groups? Couldn't then the Italian-Americans or the Irish-Americans demand similar commissions? Wouldn't the American-Jews be justified in petitioning for equal treatment, citing their significant participation in the growth and development of our nation? I'm afraid by doing so, the sprouting of special commissions and history courses would be endless, in our multicultured society.

For nearly 200 years, the American Negro somehow was not too concerned with heritage and roots. Now, in the middle of the 20th Century there has appeared a sudden awakening by the American Negro community. They now have developed a strong desire and need for background and heritage, and with it, a demand for equal rights, privileges and status. White America, having dominated our society; having denied their black brothers equality and feeling guilty for it, now eagerly tries to make amends for past misdeeds by all sorts of special accommodations. There seems to be a great desire, on the part of government, to show great regret for past failings. While basic rights and privileges must be shared; while greater equality and opportunity must be accorded, I fail to see the need for granting special status to any ethnic group. Such action fails to remedy the existing problem and creates new ones, by irritating those of other ethnic makeup.

It seems to me, instead of giving the American Negro special status, above and beyond other ethnic groups, what ought to be done is the revising of our text books; the reorienting of our American history courses and include in these, the condition, the role played by the American Negro in the history of the United States. Just as we have included other ethnic groups, such as the American Indian, the many European and Asiatic immigrant groups, that came to our shores and later became part and parcel with the American scene, so the Negro ought to be given his rightful place as another ethnic group that has played a part, a very significant part, in the growth and maturation of our nation.

Our American history courses, especially on the elementary and secondary level, have sadly neglected to include, in the teaching of our nation's history, the role played by the American Negro. In the past, the Negro has been almost completely cut out from the pages of our history books. This was done, due to the belief that our youngsters ought not read anything that might put the United States in a bad light. It was also done out of sheer prejudice, for the Negro was considered unimportant.

I have found our more sophisticated and progressive students of today resent this thinking and their "shielding" from the true facts. They are very much aware of our past deeds and misdeeds regarding the Negro in American life. They demand that we who teach them, " \* \* give it to me straight." "Teach it as it was" is a frequent comment in the classroom of the 1960's. I believe, our students are entitled to get our history taught to them as it actually happened, good, bad, or indifferent. May I add, I find this not too difficult. For the past few years, I have included in my teaching, the role of the Negro, from slavery to the present. It requires some research and supplementary materials, but it can be done; it must be done!

In summation, I would not support the idea of any special commission or history course for any particular ethnic group. I consider such a move discriminatory against all other ethnic groups. I strongly recommend, however, speedy revision of our American history courses and text books, to include in full detailed accounts, the plight, condition and participation by the American Negro to the making of our proud—if sometimes soiled—history.

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PREPARED STATEMENT OF BENJAMIN QUARLES, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, Md.

I am strongly of the belief that the establishment of a congressional commission on Negro history and culture would be a national service. Such a commission would do much to develop a richer understanding and appreciation of the American heritage, and thus help to promote better relations between individuals and groups. Until recently there has been a general unawareness of the true role of the Negro in American history, an information gap as to his substantial contribution to our country's past. A sounder appraisal of the black American's historic role will reveal the essential pluralism that characterizes our culture, the richness and variety that mark us as a civilization.

A congressional commission on Negro history and culture would do much to promote national unity and to strengthen our national purpose. As one who for many years has read and taught in the field of Negro history, I know something of its transforming power and of its liberating effect on the mind and on the spirit. Those who support the establishment of such a commission would, I believe, count it one day as among the things they were pleased and proud to have done.

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UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND,  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY,  
Kingston, R.I., August 15, 1968.

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIRS: I have long been interested in the history of the black man, and for the past two years have been teaching courses on American Negro and African history here at the University of Rhode Island. For this reason I am concerned with S. 2979, a bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

The role of the Negro in American history has long been ignored and distorted. Our textbooks and our curricula are badly in need of reinterpretation and updating on this score. Unfortunately, our teachers are rarely qualified to deal with the history of the black man in a knowledgeable and objective way, so as to deepen students' understanding of the roots of America's present racial crisis.

While I support S. 2979, I feel that certain action can and should be taken immediately to remedy a deplorable situation. Summer institutes and in-service courses for teachers are two good examples of what I have in mind. I respectfully submit that these should be funded by the federal government so that teachers can acquire the information and skills to deal effectively with the subject of the Negro in class. I know that such programs exist; however, they must be offered more often and on a regular basis throughout the nation. Furthermore, teachers should be compensated for participating in these programs.

Willingness to remedy social evils is contingent upon the realization that those evils exist, and, in the case of the Negro, have existed for centuries. The responsibility of the federal government and school systems across the country should be clear.

Sincerely,

ROBERT G. WEISBORD,  
Associate Professor.

Enclosure.

[From *Congress Bi-Weekly*, Apr. 8, 1968]

NEGRO HISTORY AND WHITE AMERICA

(Robert Weisbord<sup>1</sup>)

"You know what I learned in school, man? I learned about Paul Revere who was white, and Christopher Columbus who was white, and Cleopatra—they said she was white too. And oh yes. Don't forget little Black Sambo. The Irish had a culture, the Italians had a culture, everybody had a culture, but they told us the black man's culture was picking more cotton than the white man. That won't do. If it's only a jungle culture then let's have a jungle culture."

Thus spoke a youngster in Detroit following that city's racial upheaval, the most destructive in American history. Equally anguished and angry sentiments about the inadequacy of school curricula have been heard in other racially-torn areas. Two Negro boys, in enumerating the manifold causes of the Buffalo riot, mentioned not only police brutality and unemployment but the fact that the school system had ignored their Negro heritage. In November, 1967 Negro student unrest in Philadelphia was accompanied by a demand that Afro-American history be taught. The same demand was made recently in racially tense Mount Vernon and in Plainfield, New Jersey where there has already been rioting. Agitators at Harlem schools, including the widely publicized I.S. 201, have called for curriculum changes which would reflect the contributions of the Negro to American and world civilization. After the disturbance at the predominantly black Fisk University in Nashville the president of the student council succinctly summarized the Negroes' grievance. "Carl Sandburg, Bach, and Beethoven are closed subjects among students now. \* \* \* We recognize that perhaps you ought to study them, but we don't really relate to them. \* \* \* There's no blackness."

Familiarity with social studies curricula and textbooks leads to the inescapable conclusion that the grievance is a legitimate one. Textbooks have long mirrored publishers' fears of alienating the sensitive Southern market. Those fears, coupled with educators' apathetic conservatism about curriculum matters, have resulted, by and large, in an educational system that is run by white in the interest of whites.

The Negro in many American history books used on the high-school level is "the invisible man," to use Ralph Ellison's apt phrase. And the situation is much worse on the junior-high and elementary levels. Negro history, more often than not, is bypassed or distorted.

Objective treatment of the Negro's African background is rarely encountered. The traditional and largely prejudiced version of African history is that Africa had no history worth studying before the European arrived. Prior to that time Africa was allegedly a continent of shrieking cannibalistic savages bent on devouring one another. Only occasionally have the accomplishments of Kush and Axum and the medieval Sudanic Kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay found their way into the lesson plans of social-studies teachers in high schools.

It is little wonder that even Negroes themselves long accepted the white man's ethnocentric view of "primitive" Africa. History teachers have habitually glossed over the horrors of the Atlantic slave trade and has presented a romanticized "moonlight and mint julep" version of ante-bellum slavery. Discussions of the anti-slavery crusade have focused on white abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison. Consequently, Negro abolitionists, Frederick Douglass and the unsung militant David Walker, for example, are unfamiliar to most Americans.

Even university students have the erroneous impression that before the Civil War Negroes outside the South enjoyed complete equality with white. In his *North of Slavery*, Leon Litwack has shown quite clearly that the quasi-free Northern black was ordinarily denied the franchise and was usually ineligible for jury service. Separate facilities were commonplace and "free" Negroes were actually excluded from many States. Revisionist historiography in the Reconstruction period is not always reflected in texts or teaching. Unfortunately, misleading emphasis has traditionally been placed on the inefficiency and corruption of the "illiterate Negro buffoons" who supposedly controlled all of the Southern legislatures.

*Inadequate Coverage*

Incredibly, the Negro disappears almost entirely from American history at the end of Reconstruction not to emerge again until the post-World War II period.

<sup>1</sup> Robert Weisbord teaches in the department of history at the University of Rhode Island.

The text or the teacher who cites the more than 3,400 lynchings that took place between 1889 and 1922 is a rarity. Similarly, clashes such as the 1908 Springfield, Illinois riot near Lincoln's final resting place or the racial eruptions during the summer of 1919 in which some of the victims were returning Negro servicemen are not discussed.

Four years ago a panel of six highly respected historians at the University of California (Berkeley) wrote a scathing report on the treatment of Negroes in American-history textbooks. The report was particularly critical of this tendency to play down "the long history of violence between Negroes and white, suggesting in different ways that racial contacts have been distinguished by a progressive harmony." "In their blandness and amoral optimism," the report continued, "these books implicitly deny the obvious deprivations suffered by Negroes." Furthermore, because Jim Crowism is inadequately covered, students cannot begin to appreciate the indignities to which black Americans have been subjected.

It can be said without fear of contradiction that in 1968 most social-studies teachers still choose compliant Negroes, Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, for instance, to represent the black race in American history. If our generation cannot understand, much less accept, Negro militancy, it is partly due to unfamiliarity with a tradition exemplified by Nat Turner's slave insurrection of 1831. Following World War I, Marcus Garvey led what the distinguished Negro historian, John Hope Franklin, has described as "the first and only real mass movement among Negroes in the history of the United States." To this day the charismatic Garvey remains the patron saint of black nationalism and yet, exceptional indeed, is the social-studies teacher or text that chronicles his fascinating career.

In the main, the curricula in our schools have not been revised and updated to make it meaningful. The currency dispute of the 1890's is not a burning issue in the 1960's. It cannot be expected to fire the imaginations of either ghetto-dwelling Negro children or middle-class white youngsters. Calvin Coolidge, although he occupied the White House from 1923 to 1929, is not especially relevant today. (One is tempted to observe that he wasn't especially relevant in his own day.) Free silver and Coolidge as President should not be omitted altogether, but manifestly substantial curriculum changes are essential. I submit that Negro history should be given priority. If whole courses cannot be given on the Negro, then units in this vital subject should be incorporated in American history.

#### *History as Corrective*

Some have argued that such an ethnic or racial approach would have a divisive effect. Divisiveness along racial lines has existed since the Colonial period. Acknowledgement of that fact in order to set the historical record straight may, in the long run, help to promote true integration. If Afro-American history is to be taught, why not Italian-American or Irish-American history? Why not Jewish history?

Undoubtedly, the historical treatment of Jews has left a good deal to be desired. However, without minimizing the ever-present latent anti-Semitism, it can be asserted that there is no Jewish problem comparable to the Negro problem. After a couple of generations the children and grandchildren of the swarms of East European Jews who sought refuge in this country are secure and prosperous. The Jews have "made it" in America. We are privileged, not underprivileged. Rioting is engendered by the despair of Negroes in a white society, not by that of Jews in a Gentile society.

Disparaging stereotypes of Jews persist, but there is widespread recognition of Jewish achievements and contributions. By comparison, the names of the Negro, Benjamin Banneker, an 18-century mathematician and astronomer; Charles Drew, a Negro physician in the Second World War, who devised the process for storing blood plasma; and J. E. Matzeliger, a Negro who invented the shoe lasting machine, are known only to a few scholars. Admittedly, as the California historians previously cited have warned, there is some danger in "exaggerating Negro contributions and the heroic qualities of Negro figures." But, given the racial climate, there is much greater danger in not fully and accurately portraying the Negro's role.

Black Americans in this decade are seeking identity as well as power. Determination to reconstruct a seriously eroded self-image has led CORE to press publicly financed educational institutions for material regarding "their true history, cultural origins and contributions to literature and the arts." These are required by Negroes who have no alternative to public education to bolster their self-esteem and to develop pride and dignity.

Of course, it is not only Negroes who should be exposed to Negro history. If whites were taught the whole melancholy truth they would not ask, "Why can't the Negro do what other immigrant groups have done to achieve equality?" They would then truly understand what the late Malcolm X meant when he commented bitterly, "We didn't land on Plymouth Rock. It landed on us." Willingness to remedy social evils is contingent upon the realization that those evils exist and, in the case of the Negro, have existed for nearly three and a half centuries. So long as white America is allowed by its educational system to delude itself into believing that the black man's problems are of his own making, are ascribable to laziness and innate incapacity rather than to enslavement and oppression, remedies will be slow in coming. Over the long haul, education can and does alter values and attitudes. The inclusion of Negro history in the curriculum would give the white American greater respect for the Negro and would give the black American greater respect for himself.

It would be foolhardy and unrealistic to claim that the study of Negro history in our schools will avert racial strife in the near future. At this juncture, only a miracle can do that. Nevertheless, educators, supported by a concerned public, can redress a grievance that has led to racial turmoil. A number of enlightened communities have already taken appropriate action. To paraphrase an old Chinese proverb, "It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness and Stokely Carmichael."

HOWARD UNIVERSITY,  
Washington, D.C., July 26, 1968.

Hon. LISTER HILL,  
*Chairman, Labor and Public Welfare Committee,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SIR: We, the members of the Bibliographic Workshop on Negro materials held recently at Howard University, do hereby declare our support of S. 2979, a bill to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

We think of this Commission as an integral part of national efforts to facilitate the study of American history.

We suggest:

1. That the Commission should continue for 2 or more years after its initiation in order to implement and disseminate its reports and recommendations.
2. That monies be appropriated immediately to cope with the following problems: the cataloging, preservation and dissemination of information on existing established collections on the Negro, such as the Schomburg Collection, the Moorland Collection, and collections in college and university libraries.
3. That a clearinghouse be established for any ongoing projects in Negro studies, such as microfilming, commercial reprinting, archival inventorying, etc. to prevent duplication of effort and funds.

Respectfully yours,

Ad Hoc Committee of Thirteen; Mrs. Dorothy Briscoe, Texas Southern University; Miss Margaret Thrasher, Sojourner Truth Collection, Prince Georges County; Miss Joan M. Wilkerson, Atlanta Public Schools; Mrs. Zoia Horn, Bucknell University; Miss Anne Brugh, Douglass College Library, Rutgers University; Mrs. Carol Jopping, University of Massachusetts; Mr. Daniel T. Williams, Tuskegee Institute; Mrs. Fannie N. Sebastian, District of Columbia Public Libraries; Mrs. Jean Fagan Yellin, Pace College; Miss Ruth Miller, State University of New York; Mr. Donald Pady, Iowa State University; Mr. John W. Blassingame, Chairman, Assistant Editor of Booker T. Washington Papers; Mrs. Louise J. Still, Secretary, Claremont College; Mr. Ulysses Cameron, Federal City College; Mrs. Robert Carlton, Western Washington State College; Mrs. Ruth Carroll, Mount Mercy College; Mr. Bernard Cleveland, Marshall University; Mrs. Sophy Cornwell, Lincoln University; Miss Dorothy Delores Doering, Drury College; Sister M. Francis Joseph Egan, O.P., Mount Saint Mary College; Mr. Robert Gennett, Lafayette College; Mr. Carroll Greene, Smithsonian Institution; Mrs. Eva W. Hancock, District of Columbia Teachers College; Mr. Charles Held, Albion College;

Miss Sheila R. Herstein, City College of the City University of New York; Mrs. Linda Johnson, Northern Illinois University; Mrs. Mordine Mallory, Queens College; Miss Milda Melnikas, Community College of Philadelphia; Sister Mary O'Callaghan, Maryville College of the Sacred Heart; Mrs. Angela Poulos, Bowling Green State University; Rev. Ronald Roloff, O.S.B., Saint John's University; Mrs. Lucille Sibulkin; Rhode Island College; Miss Constance R. Smith, Saint Louis University; Sister M. Liguori Tackaberry, Fontbonne College; Mr. John Thomas Tongate, Oberlin College; Mr. Emery Wimbish, Jr., Lincoln University.

[From the Library Journal, Jan. 15, 1968]

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK, FEBRUARY 11-17, 1968

(By Carrie C. Robinson)<sup>1</sup>

In my opinion the role of the Negro in American history, and in the history of other cultures, has been most neglected, misrepresented, and least understood. Since I encountered, as a student, a subjective treatment of the Negro in social studies material, and subsequently became disenchanted with social studies generally and with geography and history in particular, it is somewhat contrary to my most cherished desires to write on history pertaining to the American Negro. Yet history is the testimony of the past, the instructor of the present, and a warning to the future. And this is no less applicable to a race than to a country and/or to the world. If no use were made of accumulated knowledge the world would be characterized by the infancy of knowledge.

For many years the American Negro knew little or nothing of his history, and if a race does not know what its former experiences have been, that race, likewise, is characterized by a state of infancy. Inconceivably, the suppression of Negro history was the plan of a people which itself, having been subjected to various forms of persecution, had severed ties with the Old World in search of freedom and a more abundant life.

Carter G. Woodson, convinced that the contributions of his people—the Negro—to American history were unequivocally ignored, first recognized the impact of such circumstances upon a people and the need for special research into the neglected past of the Negro. From this conviction the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History was founded on September 9, 1915. The following January, Dr. Woodson published the first issue of *The Journal of Negro History*. Far reaching among his many activities was the organization of Associated Publishers in 1921, insuring the publication of his journal, books, and other materials pertaining to the Negro, not then acceptable to a goodly number of American publishers.

With the provisions of an Association dedicated to the task of fostering research on the Negro, a publishing establishment, and an official organ to disseminate information, consideration was focused on a more effective opportunity than voluntary reading of researched data and a large body of additional writings, to bring people, reading, and information together. The result was the establishment of Negro History Week in 1926. Dr. Woodson launched the celebration in February 1926, surmising that a short period of time devoted to public exercises, emphasizing the major events and facts of American history in which Negroes made influential contributions, could be instrumental in setting the record straight—dispelling the deeply ingrained concept held by the majority of Americans “that the Negro is nothing, has never been anything, and never will arise above the position of being a menace to civilization.”

This celebration, first widely supported by schools, churches, and various organizations among Negroes, gradually gained support from individuals and institutions of other races in America and foreign countries. Each year Negro History Week begins the second Sunday in February, the primary object being to choose the week in which February 12 and 14, the birth dates of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, respectively, will fall. In the event that the observance cannot include both dates, that of Douglass' is given priority.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Robinson is school libraries consultant for the Alabama state department of education; her responsibilities were formerly confined to the Negro schools.

The Negro, like his American counterpart, has a heritage of which he can and should be proud. His history is deeply rooted in his African past, in a proud and dignified people whose rich cultural heritage and civilization flourished under their own kings, tribal lords, and chiefs. The focal point of early African civilization was the Nile River Valley stemming from Egypt through Ethiopia to the South. Records show that the Negro ruler, Ra Nahesi, was at least one Negro who occupied the Egyptian throne of pharaohs and that a Negro Egyptian Queen was a woman noted for her beauty, charm, and ability.

Highly developed kingdoms flourished in various parts of Africa centuries ago. Negro kings of the ancient empire of Ghana and later in Mali and Songhai in western Sudan, as well as in Congo, rose to power. These kingdoms rose and fell. And while conditions in Africa varied from one area to another, many Negro kings and nobles lived in great wealth and splendor, their capitals frequently becoming centers of culture and trade. In some sections of Africa, people developed great skill in the arts, examples of which were wood carving and delicate work in gold. It was not until the 16th Century that white Europeans settled in Africa, established colonies, and thereby initiated his, as well as the Negro's, most incorrigible problems.

Where in the annals of America could one learn that Negroes reached the New World as members of Spanish exploratory expeditions and companions of French Jesuit Missionaries years before the white colonists? Who were Esteban Dorantes, Jean Baptiste Pointe Du Sable, Hiram Revels, Blanche K. Bruce, Benjamin Banneker, Crispus Attucks, Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Mary Church Terrell, James Weldon Johnson, Peter Salem, Robert Smalls, and many others? And what essentially was the difference between white indentured servants and Negro slaves? To whom were both subjected in America? And is there anything in the records to show that Negro Americans have never been satisfied with their lot? Was there a difference in slavery as punishment for crime (in some instances) in Africa, where both masters and slaves were Negroes, and in America, where all masters were white, divorcing Negroes from every prestige of their language and culture and, as recently as 1831, making it a crime, punishable by law, for anyone caught teaching a Negro how to read and write?

Yet what people, other than the American Negro, have within three generations reduced their rate of illiteracy from 90 to approximately five percent? Whence came African Negroes to America, and what degree of fortitude, stamina, and intellectual potential did they possess in order to cope with the seldom-revealed inconceivable roadblocks that were and still are encountered in America?

It was this heritage, background information, hidden facts, and myriads of additional information, experiences, and circumstances that Negro History Week was designed to reveal. Throughout its existence it has served to give American Negroes purpose for their being; to instill pride in their race; and to create an image that is acceptable to them and their fellow men. In fact it has enlightened young generations, both black and white, about the contributions that one-tenth of America's population has made to the growth and development of this country. Its activities have varied—public lectures in schools, churches, clubs; kits of materials including many brochures, pictures, lesson plans, etc., to form a basis for displays and methods of approach in schools, colleges and universities; dramatizations presented to various audiences; concentrated reading and book reviews; discussions and reading of poetry, drama, Negro authors; and various means of directing attention to individuals and groups such as map study of monuments of Negroes who have made signal contributions to American history. Public officials and/or representatives of government, poets, novelists, entertainers, educators, scientists, essayists and scholars, musicians, labor leaders, athletes, military men and women, have all shared one way or another in this celebration.

Today every week is Negro History Week for, commendably, at least one forward-looking state has adopted a textbook on the history of the United States which goes far toward presenting the Negro in true perspective. And publishers are doing a better job, as are writers, in presenting the Negro as an integral part of American history. More important perhaps is public sentiment which has aroused America's conscience regarding racial practices and attitudes.

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Promotional kits in celebration of Negro History Week (Feb. 11-17) include: 15 biographical sketches and 8½" x 11" photos of significant Negroes, lesson plans on Negro history for teachers, a 1968 calendar of memorable dates in Negro history, and other pamphlets announcing the availability of related material. Kits are \$6 each (20 percent discount on quantity orders) and may be ordered from the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1538 9th St., Washington, D.C. 20036.

[From the American Historical Association Quarterly, April 1968]

BLACK AMERICA AS A RESEARCH FIELD: SOME COMMENTS<sup>1</sup>

American Negro history is now fashionable; along with urban history it is the latest glamour field. A short decade ago it was generally treated as a fringe subject, taught only in Negro institutions and at an occasional urban college. Its significance was recognized by a few but ignored by the majority. Now, a kaleidoscopic series of dramatic events, nonviolent and violent, has changed everything. Publishers who half a dozen years ago were turning down important manuscripts are now snapping up mediocre ones. History departments that once thought Negroes had no past and questioned the legitimacy of Negro history as a scholarly specialty are now eagerly making room for it in the curriculum. And dozens, if not scores, of graduate students are writing their dissertations in the area.

The rapid rise in popularity of the history of the country's largest ethnic minority has produced certain anomalies. For one thing, few scholars, as yet, have made the study of Negro history their major concern. The number of established scholars in the field is small, and many of the newcomers treat it as something of a revolving door: do one work in the field, consolidate your reputation if you have published something previously (or establish your reputation if this is your first work), and then move on to something else. Afro-American history has, to use the current cliché, become a superlative launching-pad for the career-oriented scholar. The result is an outpouring of research and publications, with too little of it grounded in thorough knowledge of the black community or its history.

<sup>1</sup> The author wishes to express his appreciation to John H. Bracey, Jr., Thomas R. Cripps, Louis R. Harlan, Hugh Hawkins, Benjamin Quarles, and Elliott Rudwick for their helpful suggestions and their critical evaluations of an earlier draft of this paper.

Another peculiarity is the fact that the great majority of scholars producing works in this field are whites. In 1967 three Guggenheim fellowships were awarded in the general area of Negro history and the history of Negro-white relations. All three went to white scholars. Given the demographic facts of American life, one would anticipate that in this, as in any other field, the majority of scholars will be white. It is worth noting, nevertheless, that the last two Negroes to attain prominence as authors in the field came to maturity in the 1940's—John Hope Franklin, with the publication of *From Slavery to Freedom* in 1947, and Benjamin Quarles, with the publication of his biography of Frederick Douglass in 1948. Subsequently most of those who achieved significant publishing records were white liberals. Since the middle 1950's, moreover, the overwhelming majority of articles in the *Journal of Negro History* have been by white scholars. Negro historians who took their Ph.D.'s in the 1950's tended to avoid Negro history, and this occurred at a time when a small but growing number of white scholars was becoming increasingly interested in the subject. Both phenomena reflected the growing tendency toward integration in intellectual and academic circles. For the Negroes involved, the tendency was undoubtedly a sign of emancipation—a change from the days when it was assumed that a Negro scholar would almost inevitably study some phase of the race problem.

The events of the 1960's produced a new pride among Negroes and a new search for historic roots. Young black intellectuals, turning to the study of the race's past, discovered the ironic anomalies to which I have just referred. There followed a certain amount of embarrassment and resentment—a resentment intensified when mediocre white scholars were hailed as the writers of authoritative works on the history of black Americans. Undoubtedly these reactions are among the several factors that have produced the demands now heard from Negro college students that Negro history be introduced into the curriculum and that it be taught by black teachers. At the same time a number of these young intellectuals have embarked upon the serious study of the black man's past. The next half-dozen years should witness the publication of several major works at the hands of this new generation of Negro historians.

Meanwhile, most of the new scholarship is being done by whites who have entered the field for a number of reasons. Some, particularly among those now pursuing doctoral work, are themselves veterans of the civil rights movement of the early 1960's. For others, writing a dissertation or monograph in Negro history functions as a substitute for activism. And then there are undoubtedly those whose interest has been stirred by the fact that almost anything done in the field has suddenly become "eminently publishable." In many instances, of course, the motivations are mixed.

One important distinction should be made. It is noteworthy that a substantial portion of the new research is concerned with the attitudes and actions of white Americans toward Negroes and of "the Negro image in American thought." Such studies are exceedingly important, but it is deceptive to believe, as many do, that they form part of the subject matter of Negro history per se. It is unfortunate, for example, that recent books and articles on the abolitionists usually tend to deal almost exclusively with white abolitionists. The sort of studies that, in my judgment, are most needed—and which we are, fortunately, beginning to get in greater numbers—are studies focusing on Negro life itself.

At present the two subjects in Negro history which are receiving the greatest attention are slavery, with the host of questions raised by the controversies swirling around the work of Stanley Elkins and Eugene Genovese, and the history of Negroes in the cities, with its obvious topicality and relationship to that other newly fashionable field, American urban history. In addition to these two subjects, the most significant work of recent days has been done in Reconstruction, with two important recent monographs on the state of South Carolina. In at least two other fields there are some interesting projects underway; I refer to Pan-Africanism and American Negro labor history, and we can anticipate several valuable books on both subjects fairly soon.

A host of topics await exploration. Even in such traditional subjects as slavery and Reconstruction much remains to be done. In the former case, a limiting factor has been an investigative frame of reference devoted to state-wide studies or to regional studies of the South as a whole. These tend to generalization and, therefore, they minimize variations within the system. I believe that a fruitful approach lies in comparative studies of different kinds of areas within the South. For example, a study of slavery in several selected Louisiana parishes, that would take into account such variables as the size of the farming unit, pre-

dominant religious affiliations, type of staple crop, and relative proportions of blacks and whites in the population (the political scientists John H. Fenton and Kenneth N. Vines did just that in their study of "Negro Registration in Louisiana" [*American Political Science Review*, 1957]) would be likely to provide illuminating insights into the reasons for the varying patterns of race relations within the region and the degree to which there has been historical continuity in such patterns. Similarly, a comparative investigation of the nature of slavery in the three states with the highest proportion of slaves in their populations in 1860 and the highest proportion of Negroes in their populations today—Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina—might help solve the riddle posed by the fact that South Carolina has responded so differently from Louisiana and Mississippi to Negro voting and to the Negro protest movements during the past quarter century.

We are badly in need of further careful state studies—especially of Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and Arkansas—for such subjects as the free Negroes in the antebellum South and the history of the southern black men during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction years. Disproportionate effort has, in fact, been lavished on South Carolina and Virginia (though our knowledge of these two states would benefit from more work). Here again detailed studies of sections within states, or of natural ecological and functional areas transcending state lines, might be more valuable right now than the general state-wide studies. In this connection, it should also be pointed out that, in the current popularity of urban history, the history of rural Negroes in the post-Civil War and post-Reconstruction South should not be ignored.

Similarly, we need detailed studies of free Negroes in the North both before and after the Civil War. An examination of Negro institutions has barely begun. We simply know next to nothing of the history of the Negro church or of Negro education. For example, the need for one or more studies of Negro higher education between 1865 and 1915 is critical, and the same can be said for the history of Negro public education in every northern State. One student is now investigating one of the two largest Negro insurance companies, but we must have other business histories as well. Gaps exist in the history of Negro thought and of Negro social movements, especially in the antebellum period. Dozens of worthwhile monographs can be done on the twentieth-century Negro protest movement alone, and the whole history of Negro nationalism in its many manifestations has been barely touched. Finally, a fresh approach should be made to the history of Negro politics, both in southern cities and States and in northern urban centers; here, if scholars hope to ascertain just how Negroes have functioned politically in American history, they would find it rewarding to employ the concepts and tools developed by political sociologists.

The cross-cultural and the sociological represent other fruitful approaches. In the case of the former, inquiries ranging from comparative studies of missionary activities and the black responses to them in Africa, the West Indies, and the post-Civil War South, to comparisons of Negro family life and post-slavery race relations in the societies of the New World, should prove exceedingly useful. The sociologist E. Franklin Frazier's *Negro Family in the United States*, with its strong historical orientation, suggests some of the possibilities open to historians in the field of popular or folk-life culture. To take an example from religious history for illustrative purposes, case studies of large churches which either began as store-fronts in the urban ghettos or were transplanted from the rural South should repay careful study. An examination of their membership, their rituals, the fashion in which they helped rural Negroes adapt to urban life, and their relationship to white business and to urban political machines, would teach us much about the experiences of the black masses who have migrated to the cities in the past half century.

In the area of biography much remains to be explored. Young scholars are now writing monographs on William Monroe Trotter, Francis J. Grimké, J. Mercer Langston, and perhaps others. But we need a number of full scale "life and times" biographies of figures such as Alexander Crummell, James Forten, Alain Locke, T. Thomas Fortune, and Ernest Just, to name but a handful, as well as fresh biographies of individuals like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Where the surviving evidence is slim, studies of clusters of several related figures would be in order.

The principal sources for the kind of institutional and social history that is needed will not lie in the manuscript collections so dear to the traditional his-

torians. These will continue to be useful, but, unfortunately, Negro manuscript sources are thin beyond the Booker T. Washington Papers and the W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (and the latter, except for a small collection at Fisk University, remain closed to scholars). More important for many topics will be the use of the Negro press and the white abolitionist and liberal press. The white press, even in the South, and the papers of white politicians and white plantation owners can, if judiciously used (and used in conjunction with Negro sources), prove unexpectedly rewarding. For the scholar well grounded in the extant primary and secondary sources, and possessed of a good critical faculty and a certain degree of imagination, oral tradition and oral history will be exceedingly useful for certain topics in social history going as far back as fifty, sixty, or perhaps seventy-five years. Right now, for instance, the Civil Rights Documentation Project, financed by the Ford Foundation, is interviewing a wide range of individuals active in the civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century.

Most important of all, however, will be archival materials: federal, city, and county records, and, where they survive, records of Negro organizations. Manuscript census returns will be an essential tool for the study of Negro economic, social, and demographic history, but they must be supplemented as much as possible with the frequently more valuable, and certainly more accurate, local records reposing in county courthouses. A generation ago the late Luther P. Jackson pointed the way by spending years in painstaking research in county courthouses for his pioneering *Free Negro Labor and Property Holding in Virginia, 1830-1860* (New York: 1942). We must have much more of this perhaps grim, grubby, and unglamorous work in non-manuscript sources, which gets down to the nitty-gritty of social, economic, and local history.

Just now the essential need is for thoroughly researched monographs on narrow but carefully chosen, significant topics—monographs that ask basic questions about the life of Negro Americans and do so with sensitivity and imagination. Only on the foundation of many such works can we construct a new and satisfactory synthesis of the history of black America.

*Kent State University*

AUGUST MEIER.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 17, 1968]

#### THE BLACK PAST: CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT SPURS INTEREST IN ROLE OF NEGROES IN HISTORY

NEW TEXTS, REVISIONS OFFER MORE POSITIVE TREATMENT; BIG LIFT FOR SELF-ESTEEM?

(By Peter H. Prugh)

#### *The Negroes nobody knows*

Who wrote the first American almanac, helped plan Washington, D.C., began the settlement of Chicago, invented the cowboy art of bulldogging steers, was with Peary at the North Pole and pioneered in the development and use of blood plasma?

Black men all—but until recently hardly anyone knew their names or deeds.

All that is changing, though. The civil rights movement has brought with it a spectacular growth of interest in the Negro's role in American history. Publications devoted entirely to detailing the individual and collective achievements of Negroes are rolling off the presses in record numbers and more Negro history is being written into revisions of standard textbooks.

Scholars generally agree that until recently the black man had been all but shut out of history books, and they applaud recent attempts to recognize his contributions to American life. The current revival of Negro history, however, is of more than just academic importance.

#### *A lift for self-esteem?*

Benjamin Quarles, professor of history at Morgan State College in Baltimore, says that Negroes usually hear of themselves in connection with American problems—as the passive victims of slavery (actually, they were not so passive as "white" histories would indicate), an issue which helped precipitate one of the bloodiest wars ever fought; as juvenile delinquents and criminals; and, in general, as social misfits. They rarely get the opportunity to learn about the "constructive role they played in general American history," says Mr. Quarles. He and many

others, Negro and white, hope the flood of new publications and revisions will give a much needed lift to the Negro's self-esteem.

Also, a more extensive knowledge of Negro history by whites might help them discard "myths" about Negroes, says Erwin A. Salk, a Chicago mortgage banker and editor of *A Layman's Guide to Negro History*. For example, he says that most books, movies and TV shows about the West have only "tall, lean Anglo-Saxons" as folk heroes; a Negro is seldom if ever seen, even though the West had some 5,000 Negro cowboys at one time. One of them, Bill Pickett, is the man credited with inventing the bulldogging technique.

The publishers are doing all they can to spread the word. "There's a concerted effort to give the Negro his due," says an editor for Scott, Foresman & Co., which is readying two college texts on Negro history.

#### *A 10-volume library*

Publishers Company Inc., Washington, is producing a 10-volume series, the International Library of Negro Life and History, and already has sold out the first press run of 20,000 sets even though only the first five volumes are currently available. They deal with the Negro's role in the Civil War, medicine, the theater, and music and art. A collection of Negro biographies is also included in the initial volumes.

Afro-Am Publishing Co., a two-man Chicago firm founded in 1963, is prospering mightily. *Great Negroes, Past and Present*, the company's only book, has sold 62,000 copies and is in its fourth printing. And schools are snapping up visual aid materials on Negro history also sold by Afro-Am, says David P. Ross Jr., president.

The handful of scholars specializing in Negro history are being swamped with offers to write, advise, teach and lecture. "I've had to decline six lecture dates in California this school year alone," says Arna Bontemps, professor at the University of Illinois' Chicago Circle campus and a well-known Negro author. An estimated 10% of the nation's colleges now offer Negro history courses, compared with less than 5% five years ago.

Companies using Negro historical subjects for promotion or advertising are amazed at the public response. American Oil Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. (Indiana), has distributed more than 500,000 free copies of its 64-page booklet, *American Traveler's Guide to Negro History*.

First published in 1963, the booklet includes descriptions and photographs of monuments and landmarks pertinent to Negro history in 28 states. It has been used, among, among other places, in schools and in Job Corps training.

An advertising campaign for Old Taylor bourbon featuring outstanding Negroes has brought 100,000 requests for free booklets on the subject of the ads. Queries are coming from "schools, government agencies, churches, prisons and consumers," says an executive of National Distillers & Chemical Corp.

Perhaps the most significant breakthrough, however, is occurring in the general American history textbooks used regularly by millions of pupils, black and white. These volumes have long neglected the Negro. Ebony magazine has said that "black people have been made Orwellian non-persons in the symbolic world projected by textbook writers." Just last year Irving Sloan wrote a scathing review for the American Federation of Teachers on the poor treatment of the Negro in standard textbooks.

But there have been marked changes lately. Scott-Foresman has a new text for highschool seniors out this year that has two pages listing dates and events showing "the changing status of the American Negro." The text also mentions the "Harlem Renaissance," a literary movement of the 1920s, and in a chapter on the colonial period says that the labor of Negro slaves was a key ingredient in the development of the nation. The book, *United States History*, by Richard N. Current, Alexander de Conde and Harris L. Dañte, makes numerous other references to Negroes.

Some revisions of standard works have been exhaustive. One junior high school text, *The Growth of America*, written by Rebekah R. Liebman and Gertrude A. Young and first published by Prentice-Hall Inc. in 1959, was criticized in its original version by a University of California study group. It said the book "singled out" the Negro "not only for unsympathetic and inadequate treatment but for non-treatment."

The revised book, however, gets good marks from critic Sloan, among others. The book says Negroes "hated slavery," only acted "pleasant" and "obedient" to avoid their masters' disfavor, frequently ran away and plotted against their

masters more often than is supposed. Many other texts imply that Negroes were acquiescent under slavery.

The Prentice-Hall book also provides considerable material on the role of the Negro in the Civil War—230,000 Negroes fought on the Union side, 37,000 were killed in action, 20 won Congressional Medals of Honor—and points out the positive contributions of Negroes during Reconstruction. Mr. Sloan says the difference between the original and revised edition is “tremendous.”

Often it's to the publisher's advantage to give fuller and fairer coverage to Negro history in general texts. One editor says more and more textbook buyers for school systems are checking indexes carefully to see how books treat this topic.

The surge of interest in Negro history has brought the names and exploits of many little-known Negroes to the attention of readers. Among them are Benjamin Banneker, who wrote the first American almanac; Jean du Sable, Chicago's first settler; Matthew Henson, co-discoverer of the North Pole; John James Audubon, the naturalist; Dr. Charles Drew, developer of blood plasma, and Elijah McCoy, an inventor who, it's said, built lubricating devices of such quality that buyers insisted on getting only “the real McCoy.” (Other sources say this expression originated as a reference to a boxer, Kid McCoy, who shared his name with another pugilist of inferior skills.)

Tracing the history of Negroes in America has been difficult, however. As slaves, most Negroes were not permitted to learn how to read and write, so there are few documents from them dealing with this period. Also, some Southern states destroyed the papers of Negroes prominent during the Reconstruction. “Negroes didn't usually file their papers or publications in the Library of Congress,” says Mr. Quarles of Morgan State. Many materials are scattered across the country and are poorly indexed, he adds.

In New Jersey, members of Alpha Kappa Alpha, a Negro sorority, are resorting to interviews with long-time Negro residents in an attempt to piece together Negro history in that state. They already know that as far back as 1790 New Jersey had a Negro population of about 11,000 including 3,000 freemen, and the sorority says some Negroes interviewed can trace their lineage back to African royal families.

There are some centers of material on Negro history, however, including Howard University in Washington and Atlanta University. One of the best-known is the Schomburg Collection, a part of the New York Public Library System. Located in Harlem, the collection has 44,000 volumes and a vast quantity of uncatalogued materials. A few years ago, its reading room was used but little; now it's often crowded.

[From *Time*, June 14, 1968]

#### TEACHING BLACK CULTURE

One of the fastest-growing new academic specialties in U.S. universities is Negro culture. Whether prodded by militant black student groups, equally concerned white students or faculty conscience, the nation's colleges are rushing to add courses in Negro history, literature, anthropology, music and art. San Francisco State even has a course in “Black Psychology,” while Colgate Rochester Divinity School this fall will begin a program of “Black Church Studies.”

Negro culture as a discipline is so new that there are inevitable disagreements over precisely what should be taught and who should teach it. Some student groups insist that only a Negro can fully appreciate and convey the implications of black culture. There are not nearly enough professors—black or white—with academic specialization in the field. Partly out of practical necessity, universities generally agree that a teacher's color is irrelevant in matters of scholarship. “You don't need a Greek to teach Greek or a Communist to teach Marx,” contends Rutgers Provost Richard Schlatter. Anyone with a valid claim to expertise in black studies can just about choose his campus. Brooklyn College has created a chair in Afro-American studies, offering up to \$31,000 a year, but has yet to find an occupant.

#### STREET HOODLUM

In the debate over course content, scholars agree that Negro history has been both slighted and skewed by the university. The lack of a perceptive analysis of the Negro's role in U.S. history and culture, many historians now concede, raises

serious doubts about their own past techniques and insights. At the same time, universities are fighting the temptation—created by black student pressure—to romanticize the Negro past. Attempts to exaggerate the role of a Negro like Crispus Attucks, who was killed in the Boston Massacre, can be misleading. "He was just a street hoodlum who happened to get in the way of a bullet," says Notre Dame Historian James Silver, an expert on the U.S. South (*Mississippi: The Closed Society*).

The guideline for creating new black culture courses, says Arts and Sciences Dean John Silber of the University of Texas, must be to "avoid racism in reverse—there has to be intellectual integrity behind the move." Although Texas has fewer than 200 Negro students, a petition for a Negro history course drew 1,800 student signers. The course will be taught by Sociologist-Historian Henry Allen Bullock. He intends to examine the Negro's origin in Africa and the clashes of African and European cultures, study the impact of the slave trade on the Caribbean and the U.S. South, and trace the development of segregation in the U.S.

#### NEW EMPHASIS

Some colleges are meeting the demand for a new emphasis on the Negro by expanding existing African studies programs. A three-year-old Institute of African Studies at Columbia now has 43 courses, ranging from the Prehistory of Africa to Primitive Art and Problems of Modern Africa. The University of Chicago offers nine courses on Africa, from its anthropology to its sociology, in the Social Sciences Collegiate Division.

Stanford, Harvard and Yale are debating whether to offer degrees in Afro-American studies. A proposed major at Yale would require specialization in a discipline, such as history, economics or political science, then examine the approaches of several disciplines toward Negro culture in a junior-year seminar, finish with a senior-year colloquium and a major paper. The leader in promoting black culture as a separate discipline, however, has been San Francisco State. Negro Sociologist Nathan Hare, who has a doctorate from the University of Chicago, supervises 15 courses, ranging from Avant-Garde Jazz to Ancient Black History and Swahili, but considers both the range and volume inadequate.

The primary purpose of the Negro-culture courses is, of course, to convey information, clear up misconceptions, and tell it like it is—or was. This also often tends to ease racial tensions, although Michigan State Historian James Hooker sadly notes the case of one black student in his Negro-history class who disliked whites before taking the course, then "found out that Whitey had really known what he was doing to black people—so now he hates him even more." More often, though, the candid classes have a kind of "group therapy" effect, in which inner feelings surface and understanding grows.

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[From the New York Times, June 23, 1968]

#### THE DEMAND GROWS FOR "BLACK STUDIES"

Harvard University last week announced that, beginning in September, it will offer a new full-year course in "The Afro-American Experience" and is considering a degree-granting program in Afro-American studies at a later date.

The alumni magazines of Yale, Dartmouth, Williams and Cornell last week featured reports on their institutions' Negro students, with stress on demands for "black studies."

At Yale, a student-faculty committee has proposed the creation of an undergraduate major in Afro-American studies.

Since academic innovations by the Ivy League are trend-setting, these developments deserve analysis.

Robert A. Dahl, professor of political science at Yale, said the program recommended by the committee is "an interdisciplinary approach to studying the experience and conditions of people of African ancestry in Africa and in the New World."

While students would get a broad view of the African experience, they would be required to concentrate on one of the relevant disciplines, thus building a knowledge of the cultural, economic, political, social, artistic and historical experiences of Africans and Afro-Americans.

## HARVARD'S PROGRAM

Harvard, with the action program already mapped out, is even more specific. The new course will begin with African background and the Negro experience in American history through 1945 and, in the second term, will consider issues of race relations, psychology, civil rights, housing, employment and education from 1945 to the present.

A faculty group of four will be headed by Frank Freidel, professor of American history and biographer of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Prof. Freidel will be joined by a historian with special interest in poverty studies, a political scientist who specializes in African and American Negro studies and an expert on American and Latin American history.

In the beginning, the course will be limited to 200 students. It is comparable, as a social science offering, to the Introduction to Western Civilization.

Parallel to the course, Harvard's Institute of Politics of the John F. Kennedy School of Government will offer a series of lectures on the Afro-American Experience by visiting scholars, required of the students taking the course and open to others. And the Association of African and Afro-American Students will offer a series of films and television tapes on the subject.

These developments assume special importance at a time when "black studies" are being demanded across the country, often with far less stress on their relationship to the educational program as a whole and less convincing proof of intellectual seriousness than in the Harvard program. In particular, the question arises whether Afro-American studies should take the form of an undergraduate major, any more than, say, European-American, Italo-American or Jewish-American studies.

## POSSIBLE REASONS

Dispassionate answers might emerge from an examination of the following possible reasons for black studies:

(1) *Political*. In an atmosphere of militancy, the demand for inclusion of special courses in the curriculum is neither new nor hard to understand. When a segment of the population feels that its views, rights and aims are being ignored, its natural impulse is often that "there ought to be a course," as was the case when the issue of Communism was on the public mind in the 1950's.

(2) *Therapeutic*. There is nothing new in the need of minorities to find, and develop pride in, their ethnic or religious identity, especially within a campus community dominated by an alien element. This, of course, is why Jewish and Catholic students on WASPish campuses turned to the Hillel and Newman societies respectively.

One advantage, apart from creating an enclave of fraternity, is that such a retreat permits a non-objective approach to the discussion of one's past. It allows students to concentrate on their heroic past, omitting less glorious chapters.

(3) *Vocational*. On this score, the Yale alumni review asks whether black studies would be geared primarily to the needs of black students, presumably to enable them to become teachers in Negro communities or academicians in this field. The reaction to this approach depends on one's view of the mission of the liberal arts college.

## SCHOLARLY APPROACH

If the political, therapeutic and vocational approaches have serious limitations, there remains the straight, non-propagandistic scholarly approach that treats the African heritage as it would, or should, treat the Western or Judeo-Christian heritage. Indeed, a long-standing criticism of the American academic approach to mankind is that it treats history as though it started in Athens and ended in California.

It then becomes crucial that the Afro-American story itself is not relegated to an academic ghetto.

The first requirement in most colleges and schools is not the introduction of black studies but the reexamination of existing lily-white studies. This applies to history, economics, sociology, political science, psychology, along with literature and the arts.

The second requirement is tougher, in the present national mood. It is the caution not to substitute propaganda for omission, nor new myths for old lies.

Martin Luther Kilson Jr., assistant professor of government at Harvard and adviser to Harvard's Afro-Americans, who will help teach the new course, asked this blunt question:

"What community or segment of Black Peoples should be used as representative of whatever the Black Experience is or has been?" Should it be, he added, the Republic of Haiti where Black Power has been oppressive of the black masses? Or black fratricide in Nigeria? Or the black experience with 200 years of white racism in the United States? Or the Negro slave traders who helped bring this about?

"In short, I would suggest most firmly that the Black Experience is truly nothing more than a variant of the Human Experience," Professor Kilson said.

All men, black, white, yellow and red, Professor Kilson went on, are capable of oppressive abuse of power, without gaining from such experience any special will or capacity to rid human affairs of oppression. He concluded:

"Indeed, it is a common fallacy to believe that what is momentarily politically serviceable is *ipso facto* intellectually virtuous."

Where does this leave black studies?

It seems to point to two efforts, not mutually exclusive.

The first, and most important to the intellectual integrity of American education as well as to the rights of Negro Americans, is the honest inclusion of the Negro past in the study of American and human affairs as part of everybody's general education.

This does not exclude as a second step, specific African or Afro-American courses as now introduced at Harvard, in conjunction with the regular disciplines. The risk that such courses might be turned into propaganda or political accommodation, especially at second-rate colleges which lack the resources of the best institutions and the strength to resist political demands, is obvious. Even at first-rate institutions the wisdom of offering an undergraduate Afro-American major, rather than deferring such specialization to the graduate level, remains at least debatable.

FRED M. HECHINGER.

[From the New York Times, July 8, 1968]

#### SCHOOLS TURN TO NEGRO ROLE IN U.S.

(By J. Anthony Lukas)

Who was the real McCoy?

According to most historians, he was Kid McCoy, a famed prize ring and barroom brawler of the eighteen-nineties. One day, the story goes, he was taunted by a saloon heckler who said if he were the real McCoy he should put up his dukes and prove it. McCoy did just that. When the heckler came to, his first words were: "That's the real McCoy, all right."

But the educator William Loren Katz has another version. According to Mr. Katz, the real McCoy was Elijah McCoy, who gained more than 75 patents in the late 19th century for various mechanical devices. His best known invention was the drip cup, which fed oil to moving parts of heavy machinery. The tiny cup was so highly valued by machinists, Mr. Katz says, that they insisted on "the real McCoy."

Elijah McCoy was born in Canada, the son of runaway American slaves. But he figured in few American history courses until Mr. Katz, a pioneer in the teaching of Negro history, devoted nearly a full page to him in a new textbook.

Mr. Katz does not maintain a barroom dogmatism about McCoy. He concedes that the Kid's backers may have a point. But he argues that what has been wrong with the teaching of American history for so long is that few students have had a chance even to hear about Elijah McCoy.

This kind of omission, comparatively petty though it may be, is the kind that advocates of "black history" are seeking to correct. Demands for the teaching of "black studies"—including literature, art and other aspects of the black experience—have swelled on campuses across the country during the last year.

These demands will have their first major results this fall when many colleges and universities introduce courses in black studies, often using new books that have been rushed into print by publishers.

The new focus on black studies raises anew the question: who is the real American?

Is he, as most American history textbooks have seen him, a bland, homogenized product of the melting pot, with all his ethnic peculiarities and angularities boiled out? Or is he a very particular person, formed by his own racial, ethnic and religious background and proud of it, yet living together with many other proud and particular persons in a richly variegated, pluralistic society?

Advocates of the teaching of black history are not demanding that it replace white history.

"I don't say we should rewrite all history to stress the Negro's role," Mr. Katz, who is now editing a series of books on black history, said in a recent interview.

#### OCCASIONALLY THE EXTREME

"Let the kids read several books, some with the old white approach and some with the pluralistic approach," he went on. "If this should lead to an argument in class—great, marvelous! Can you imagine anything better than kids—many of them so-called 'nonreaders'—actually getting into an argument over something on a printed page?"

The call for black studies is the product of Negroes' new pride in their race a new awareness of their blackness, which contrast sharply with the assimilationist, integrationist impulse of only a decade ago.

At its peak, this often abrasive pride in race can lead to a kind of voluntary self-segregation, such as among those Cornell students who are demanding courses in black studies open only to black students—a demand the university is unlikely to accept.

But this is not typical. When black students, administrators and faculty have sat down together in good faith, they have usually had no great difficulty finding common ground on curriculum matters at least. For many educators have now reached the conclusion that the traditional American curriculum does not properly prepare either black or white students to live in a pluralistic society.

#### NEW TEXTS MULTIRACIAL

There is now substantial agreement among students and professional educators that measures to correct this imbalance should fall into two broad areas: First, introduction of materials on the black experience in all areas of the curriculum in which they are appropriate; and second, the development of specific courses, such as Negro history, African history, black literature or the sociology of the ghetto.

How this is to be done depends on the level of education and the composition of the student body. In the elementary schools, it is generally agreed, new material is needed throughout the curriculum. Examples in all subjects—whether reading, mathematics, or basic sciences—are commonly drawn from daily life, but for years they have been drawn primarily from white, suburban, middle-class life.

In many schools, the "Dick and Jane" brands readers ("watch Dick run; watch Jane run, too") have given way to texts, such as the "Bank Street Readers," which reflect a more multiracial society.

However, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the prominent Negro psychologist, says many of these new books have "simply colored some of the children brown."

A study by Dr. Clark's Metropolitan Applied Research Center, in cooperation with Harper & Row, found one elementary reader that had "a few brown children and adults and a few urban phenomena such as tall buildings, escalators, buses or department stores." But it also found that the central family in the book "takes an airplane ride to visit grandparents and lives in a split-level house with a neatly tended lawn, with morning milk delivery. This does not reflect the urban experience of white or Negro students."

Moreover, the study noted that "readers showing happy families with mother, father, two children living in comparative affluence are at best nonstimulating to children of the poor from broken homes; at worst, their insensitivity may present a barrier to reading."

#### HIGH SCHOOL COURSES

At the secondary-school level, likewise, most educators feel that the prime need is for material integrated with the regular curriculum in virtually all subjects. However, in some high schools, particularly those with heavy Negro student bodies, there may be a demand for courses on Negro or African history.

Educators differ on the advisability of giving way to this demand at the high-school level. Some argue that this is just another form of segregation and that the history of blacks and whites in America is so intertwined that they should not be separated for high-school students.

Others, however, say that if there is a demand from the students themselves it should not be rejected. John Crawley, executive director of the Urban League

in New Jersey's suburban Bergen County, cites a letter he recently received from a 13-year-old white girl as evidence that there is a thirst for knowledge about these subjects that is not being met by the current curriculum.

#### TWO APPROACHES IN COLLEGE

"My class is presently studying United States history," the girl wrote. "I feel that it is very important for us to study American minority groups. As my teacher is somewhat reluctant to get into this, I have had to try and put pressure on her. After insisting that at least a short amount of time be spent on the American Indian, I was left no alternative but to do research and instruct the class myself."

The girl then asked Mr. Crawley whether he would come to the school and lecture on the Negro.

At college and graduate school, most educators agree that the two approaches are both required. They maintain that the physiology major should learn that Dr. Charles Drew, a Negro, was largely responsible for the development of blood plasma; a drama major should be taught about Ira Aldridge, the American Negro actor who was a star of European stages for 40 years in the 19th-century; an English major should read the poetry of Langston Hughes.

But at the same time, many universities and colleges are now setting up courses that will enable students to delve more deeply into the black experience.

"Certainly, 'The Negro Writer in America' is as valid a subject for serious study in this country today as 'The English Restoration Drama,'" one Ivy League professor said recently.

#### RELIABILITY A QUESTION

At Yale, a joint student-faculty committee has recommended the establishment of a major in Afro-American studies, and other universities seem on the verge of the same step.

At a recent seminar at Yale, Gerald McWhorter, a professor at Fisk University, warned that few universities or colleges are adequately prepared to establish departments, much less courses, in Afro-American studies. He proposed a foundation-financed study of the black experience to prepare such a curriculum.

Many educators concede that Professor McWhorter may have a point about postgraduate studies, in which considerable sophistication and specialization is required. There are special problems in teaching and research in Afro-American Studies, most of them deriving from the paucity of written materials.

For example, there are few reliable documents written by Africans about Africa before the slave traders arrived, or by slaves about slave life, Benjamin Quarles, a Negro historian, has cautioned against what he calls the "heroic fugitive" school of American literature—the narratives nominally written by runaway slaves, but often "ghostwritten by abolitionists and hence representing a white reformer's idea of how it felt to be a slave."

However, this shortage of original source materials is less critical in college and high schools. There secondary sources often will suffice, and these are rapidly becoming available.

Dr. Austin J. McCaffrey, executive director of the American Textbook Institute, said the country is now going through its second textbook revolution in 10 years.

"The first, which began with Sputnik, and the fears that raised about American teaching of science, set off a vast and thoroughgoing revision of science textbooks. The second, which may have begun with the Supreme Court's 1954 school desegregation decision and has certainly accelerated since, is producing a whole host of new or revised textbooks which give us a better picture of the Negro's role in our country."

#### NAACP NOTES GAIN

June Shagaloff, the education specialist of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, largely agrees.

"The textbook picture is getting better—particularly in general elementary school books and in specialized books on aspects of Negro history," she said. "It is still far from good, particularly in general American history texts, but for any teacher who recognizes the need, there are certainly books available."

Miss Shagaloff and others pinpoint teachers themselves as the greatest single obstacle to the teaching of the Negro experience.

In most school systems, teachers have wide discretion in what and how they teach. New Jersey recently required the introduction of material on Negro history into the compulsory two-year American history course in high schools, but the implementation of this directive is largely left up to local principals and teachers. New York has no such legislative requirement.

When asked about what is being done in this field, state, county and city public education officials in the New York metropolitan area said it was virtually impossible to say because, as one put it, "you'd have to interview every individual teacher in every classroom."

But Miss Shagaloff fears that if it is left to teachers alone little will be done. "Many teachers have little understanding or empathy in this area," she said. "Unfortunately, the teachers' training institutions are doing little to help. The whole curriculum of these institutions is outmoded, unsuitable to current needs. Many graduates come out totally unprepared for teaching Negroes or about Negroes."

#### FISCHER ADMITS LACKS

Dr. John H. Fischer, president of Teachers College at Columbia University, conceded in an interview that it was still possible for a student to come out of his college without taking a single course in the area of Negro history or urban and racial problems. However, he said, the college recognized the need and was moving to fill it.

Dr. Fischer warned against any "concentrated attempt to rewrite history that would smack of what the Russians do from time to time. You won't find any effort to set up an indoctrination program here. What you will find is a readiness to admit errors of commission and omission."

What are these errors that the advocates of teaching Negro history now demand be corrected?

Part is the failure to teach about the thousands of Negroes, like Elijah McCoy, who have made major contributions to American life.

#### WHO WAS MATZELIGER?

How many have ever heard of Jan Matzeliger, who invented the lasting machine that revolutionized the American shoe industry; of Dr. Revlon Harris, the first American to make an analysis of the German V-2 rocket; of Dr. Percy Julian, who helped develop drugs that are now in widespread use by those afflicted by arthritis; of Matthem Henson, who played a major role in Adm. Robert E. Peary's expedition to the North Pole and who was the first man to stand atop the world?

How many know that Negroes are credited with having invented the potato chip (Hyram B. Thomas), ice cream (Augustus Jackson), the golf tee (George F. Grant), the mop holder (Thomas W. Stewart) or the player piano (J. H. and S. L. Dickinson)?

Or, for that matter, how many know that Deadwood Dick, the nearly legendary cowboy, or James Beckwourth, the Indian fighter for whom California's "Beckwourth Pass" is named, were Negroes?

But those interested in the teaching of Negro history stress that the "name game" is only a small part of what needs to be done.

For the omission of most of the names from American history courses is only one aspect of what these historians see as a persistent myopia about the role of the Negro in America.

#### NOT ALL WERE SLAVES

One of the myths is that all Negroes were slaves until after the Civil War. Yet Professor Quarles in his book, "The Negro in the Making of America," notes that there were 59,557 nonslave Negroes in the United States as early as 1790 (7.9 percent of the total black population) and that by 1860 there were 488,070 (11 percent).

Many of these were originally indentured servants who completed their terms of service. Others were former slaves who obtained their liberty through military service. Others ran away or purchased their freedom. The result was a fairly significant number of free Negroes who performed roles far from that of the traditional cotton-picking Negro on the plantation. They were artisans, land-owning ranchers, cowboys, tailors, shoemakers, barbers.

However, most did remain slaves until the war, and in the treatment of their condition the new historians see an equally giant error.

Mr. Katz points to a paragraph from the 1940 printing on "The Growth of the American Republic," a widely used textbook by Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, as a vivid example of the distortions he is trying to correct. It reads:

"As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.' The majority of the slaves were adequately fed, well cared for, and apparently happy \* \* \*. Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic Negro soon became attached to the country, and devoted to his 'white folks.'"

Among other things, this account overlooks the series of violent protests by Negro slaves against their condition. Herbert Aptheker has found records of some 250 slave conspiracies, some dating back to Colonial times. The best known, the one led by Nat Turner in Virginia, has been fully documented in William Styron's Pulitzer-Prize-winning novel, "The Confessions of Nat Turner." But there were scores of other bloody rebellions that make one wonder about just how happy "Sambo" was.

Another area in which the historians are trying to correct the record is the obstacles put up to even free Negroes in their efforts to better themselves.

"Over and over these days you hear the Irish-American or the Italian-American say 'if we could do it why can't they?'" Mr. Katz says.

"So few of them realize the degree of organized, statutory repression to which Negroes have been subjected, but which the Irish and Italians never faced. Few realize that in many parts of America for a long time it was illegal to teach a slave—or even a free Negro—to read and write.

"Nobody pulled books out of the Jews' or the Italians' hands and said 'you can't read.' But for a long time the white man in America consciously sought to maintain the Negro's ignorance and illiteracy. After all, as late as 1909, President Taft told a black audience in Charlotte, N.C.: 'Your race is adapted to be a race of farmers, first, last and for all times.'"

#### CAUTIONS ARE ADDED

Many of the new historians recognize the danger of letting historical revisionism run away with them and turning the Negro into a heroic figure who could do no wrong—a people that have produced only Marian Andersons, Jackie Robinson and Sidney Poitiers. Most are on guard against this kind of antiseptic history and try to show where the Negro stumbled too, where he gave in to the weaknesses of all human kind.

Mr. Katz, in his book "Eyewitness: the Negro in American History" tells not only about McCoy and Banneker, but about John (Mushmouth) Johnson and Dan Jackson, two of the toughest Negro racketeers in American history.

But many of the historians who have been concerned with the feelings of the current approach to American history believe that its bland, homogenous flavor is probably its central weakness. They object to the presentation of the rich, turbulent saga of America as though it was simply the natural progression of white Anglo-Saxons to an ever more fulfilling life.

#### FOR INJECTING CONTROVERSY

The study by the Metropolitan Advanced Research Center and Harper & Row calls for books that would more often inject controversy into history courses.

"Possible topics," it suggests, "might include dramatic accounts of such events as the 1920 Palmer raids, the Haymarket affair, the 1943 Detroit race riot, the rise and defeat of the Tweed Ring, the history of Al Capone and prohibition gangsters, the cleanup of the Barbary Coast, the evacuation of Japanese-Americans to detention camps in World War II."

Historians interviewed said the effect of this kind of vital history on ghetto youth can often be miraculous. Mr. Katz tells of a 17-year-old boy he once had in class who was described by previous teachers as a "nonreader" and a "troublemaker."

"One day I got up and said 'there were 22 Negro Congressmen from the South after the Civil War.' Before I could even turn around this kid yells 'there were not.' For nearly an hour this kid and the others grilled me about it. 'How could Negroes have played such a role? How did it get back to the way it is?' Finally I said, 'Would you believe it if I showed it to you in the words of a white Mississippi historian?' They said they would.

"But the next day when I walked in the classroom door, the kid comes over and shows me a book by Carter Woodson and says, 'Hey, you're right. Here's B. K. Bruce, the Senator from Mississippi.' From then on the kid woke up. He did me a 10-page paper on the Negro in World War II, and another one on James Baldwin and Gordon Parks. This kid, this nonreader, was turned on."

[From the Washington Post, July 11, 1968]

#### HISTORY TEXTBOOKS HELD INACCURATE ON MINORITY GROUPS

LANSING, MICH., July 10.—History texts widely used in Michigan public schools have been criticized by a special Michigan Board of Education advisory committee as inaccurate, misleading and distorted with regard to minority groups.

The report, culmination of a year-long study, was issued today to the State Board of Education.

The report singled out 12 selected texts as "very seriously deficient in their treatment of minorities in general and Negroes in particular." [Several of them are used in Washington and its suburbs.]

The full Board of Education voted to send copies of the report to book publishers involved and all the state's local school boards, which are responsible for selecting the texts used in their schools.

The committee of three white and two Negro educators was aided by six historians.

"At a time when local, state and national attention is being focused on the necessity of rooting out discrimination and segregation," the committee said, "the shortcomings of these textbooks can only be interpreted as a further contribution to the possibility of tragic consequences."

Criticisms were not linked to particular texts. Said one: "Not only does this book ignore slavery as an economic institution, it spares its tender readers an account of what it meant to be a slave. This is of critical importance, for to describe the realities of slavery is to give the first dim insight into the structure and problems of the Negro today."

Another said a textbook "actually gives the impression that the recent gains made by Negroes have been so great that their present dissatisfaction is unwarranted."

Historians on the panel were Ray Ginger, Wayne State University; William Harbrough, University of Virginia; John Higham, University of Michigan; Richard Storr, University of Chicago; Harold Woodman, University of Missouri; and T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University.

The books are "History of a Free People," "Making of Modern America," "Story of the American Nation," "History of Our United States," "The Story of America," "Exploring Our County," "They Made America Great," "Our Country's History," "In These United States," "Exploring American History," "Rise of the American Nation," "History of the United States."

[From the Providence (R.I.) Journal Bulletin, July 28, 1968]

#### Racial separation rejected

#### CULTURAL IDENTITY NEGRO AIM

WASHINGTON.—While a large majority of American Negroes rejects racial separation as a goal, many exhibit strong desires for a black cultural identity within white society.

This is one of the key findings of a study of racial attitudes prepared for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders.

The public opinion sampling, for example, turned up this evidence of what is called a type of "pluralism"—rejection of the idea of a separate society but endorsement of ideas that would strengthen a Negro culture:

—Forty-two percent of the Negroes interviewed believed that Negro school children should study an African language.

—Ninety-four percent believed there should be more Negro-owned businesses and stores and 7 percent thought Negroes should shop in Negro-owned stores whenever possible.

—Ninety-six percent thought that Negroes should take more pride in Negro history.

On the other hand, the survey did not find much evidence to support the idea that Negroes lean toward separatism in the sense of establishing a "black state" or of rejecting integration with whites.

Forty-eight percent said they would prefer to live in a neighborhood half-Negro and half-white. Another 37 percent said it would make no difference whether they lived in a Negro or white neighborhood. Only eight percent said they would prefer an all-Negro neighborhood and five percent favored a "mostly Negro" neighborhood.

"The overwhelming majority prefers 'integration' either in the positive sense of 'racial balance' or in the nondiscriminatory sense of race being irrelevant to decisions about neighborhood," the report stated.

The study is the largest national sample of racial attitudes ever undertaken in this country. Negroes were interviewed in 15 major cities, including Washington, D.C.

Its findings suggest that separatism, as preached by the more militant black leaders in the country, has fewer adherents than popularly believed.

However, the sampling also turned up evidence that separatism has a larger following among younger Negroes than in the whole Negro society, suggesting that the idea of separate institutions—such as schools—will become more acceptable in the years to come.

Twenty-two percent of Negroes between 16 and 19 believe that a school with mostly Negro children should have mostly Negro teachers. Only six percent in the 40 to 49 age group agreed.

And 19 percent of the younger Negroes believe that whites should be discouraged from taking part in civil rights organizations, while only six percent in the older group agreed.

In summary the commission document, prepared by the University of Michigan's survey research center, declared, "As in the case of religious and ethnic groups in America, there seems to be wide support for cultural individuality within a larger interracial social structure.

"Such affirmation of black identity is in keeping with American pluralism and should not be termed 'separatism.' It does, however, contain a source from which leaders advocating separatism can draw, especially if there is wide disillusionment with the possibility of making integration work in social and political contexts."

Like other studies, the riot commission's sampling found decisively more popular support for "moderate" civil rights leaders than for those who style themselves "black power" militants.

While 14 per cent said they "approve" of Stokely Carmichael, 72 per cent said they approve of the late Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., fifty per cent approved by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, while 14 per cent approve of the fiery militant, H. Rap Brown.

"The major commitment of the great majority of the Negro population in these 15 cities was not to racial exclusiveness so far as this meant personal rejection of whites or an emphasis on racial considerations in running community institutions," the study concluded.

"Negroes hold strongly, perhaps more strongly than any other element in the American population, to belief in non-discrimination and racial harmony."

The one example of separatism that had most encouragement from Negroes was the black ownership of stores in Negro neighborhoods. Eighteen per cent favored it.

Fourteen per cent believed that a school with mostly Negro children should have a Negro principal.

However, only two per cent explained their preference for a Negro principal in terms of "black control" of institutions. Most based their judgment on the practical grounds that a Negro principal would be better able to work with Negro pupils.

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[From the New York Times, Aug. 8, 1968]

VISITORS CROWD REPOSITORY OF NEGRO CULTURE

For years, people passed by the dingy gray library on West 135th Street where one of the country's greatest collections of Negro literature and history is kept.

More people visited the hotdog stand on the corner than went into the quiet library—the Schomburg Collection of Negro literature and history.

In recent years however, with the growth in black pride and interest in black culture, the 42-year-old library may have the noisiest, busiest and most over-crowded reading room in the city.

"The Schomburg is not set up for this kind of crowd," said Lynn Wheedlin, an information assistant, as she surveyed the students, writers, tour groups and historians who cram into the three-story building each day. "A year ago people who lived in the neighborhood didn't know about us."

#### DEFICIENCIES FRUSTRATING

To the growing number of people who use the Schomburg Collection, the library's deficiencies are frustrating: documents can't be found or fall apart in the user's hand, guided tours are noisy and equipment sometimes breaks down. But to the many children and adults who visit the library it is a treasure house.

On a typical midsummer day at the Schomburg recently, 23 Negro youngsters from a Stamford, Conn., Y.W.C.A. swarmed through the first-floor public room that serves as a reference, research and reading area and, because of limited space, as a museum, too.

Soon the children were excitedly looking at the swords, religious objects and jewelry in an African art exhibition near the front of the room where Dr. Colin M. Turnbull, associate curator of the American Museum of Natural History here and an authority on African art, was photographing some African sculpture.

#### COLLECTION PRAISED

"These are as fine as anything at the Smithsonian Institution or the Museum of Natural History," Dr. Turnbull said. "It's a shame they don't have enough room to display them properly."

Some of the youngsters grouped around the most popular piece of sculpture in the library, a weeping Othello holding the handkerchief that Iago misled him into believing was evidence of Desdemona's infidelity. It is a bust of the distinguished 19th-Century Shakespearean actor Ira Aldridge, a Negro born on the Lower East Side. The bust is the work of an Italian, Pietro Calvi.

As tours filed through the room, its walls lined with locked cases of rare books and punctuated with nooks and crannies full of paintings and sculpture, a group of teachers seated in the reading area at the center of the room hunched closer to their books.

"It's difficult to work when tours come through," said Martin Resnick, a social studies teacher at Thomas Edison High School in Queens. Mr. Resnick and the other teachers have been hired by the Board of Education to compile a curriculum guide for the study of Negro history in the public schools this fall.

"This is supposed to be a research library, not a museum," he said scowling.

#### ONE OF 3 BEST COLLECTIONS

The Schomburg Collection, the library of Howard University in Washington and the Library of Congress, are the great repositories of Negro culture in this country.

The Schomburg contains tens of thousands of manuscripts and letters, most of which have not been inventoried; 45,000 books; 1,400 record albums, including 210 long-playing records of African tribal music; 1,100 reels of microfilm and an extensive collection of old newspapers, periodicals, photographs and art objects.

It is this irreplaceable collection that has been deteriorating for more than 20 years.

The basement of the Schomburg is now a dank, dismal place where rotting newspapers are haphazardly stored. But in the early forties the American Negro-Theater performed there and Hilda Simms starred in "Anna Lucasta" before it went on to Broadway in 1944.

Books have overfilled shelves and are piled on the floor in the second-floor stock room. In an adjoining room, where paint is peeling from the walls and window shades are torn, mounds of newly purchased books cover every available space.

The third-floor storeroom resembles a cluttered attic. Art objects lay exposed on open shelves to humidity, heat and dust. Papers of famous people and the records of organizations stand curling and shredding at the edges in uninventoried file cabinets in the archives department.

## PAPERS GO ELSEWHERE

As a result of these conditions, Mrs. Ida Cullen Cooper, widow of the poet Countee Cullen, said she would retain his papers until the Schomburg could provide adequate storage. Similarly, the Harmon Foundation, an organization that supported Negro artists, gave its papers to the Smithsonian because the Schomburg did not have the facilities to take care of them.

To add to the Schomburg's worries, other institutions across the country are now buying collections to expand their own Negro culture departments. Kent State University in Ohio, for example, outbid the Schomburg for the papers of the author Richard Wright.

Some action has been taken in the last two months to alleviate these conditions, however. Aided by a \$15,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, the library has begun to consolidate and store collections in acidproof and dustproof boxes.

Why is the Schomburg in such difficulty?

"We were placed in the branch library system because we didn't have private money to support us," said Mrs. Jean Blackwell Hutson, the Schomburg's curator. "We get our money from the city and the city has never realized the importance of the Negro collection."

The collection was given to the New York Public Library in 1926 after the Carnegie Corporation purchased it for \$10,000 from the banker who founded it, Arthur A. Schomburg, a Puerto Rican of African descent, who believed that "the American Negro must remake his past in order to make his future."

## ENDOWMENT SOUGHT

"The community and the library tried from 1926 to 1936 to get the Schomburg endowed, but couldn't find any interested donors," said John Cory, deputy director of the New York Public Library.

In 1937, the Schomburg was given three librarians, three clerks and a page. "That's all the city has ever done for the Schomburg to this day," Mr. Cory said.

After the Harlem community complained about the library's condition, the Board of Estimate earmarked \$54,000 from the 1968-69 budget for an engineering survey of the building. And the New York Public Library announced in June that it would use \$100,000 of newly acquired state funds to aid the Schomburg Collection and its manuscript preservation program.

## COMMITTEE SET UP

Years of neglect of the collection have left a bitter mark on Harlem. One community group, the Citizens Committee for the Schomburg, was founded in June to seek to gain control of the library. The committee contends that the Public Library made no effort until this year to raise funds for the Schomburg.

Senator PELL. I think this has been a very helpful hearing and I thank you all for your contributions and for your kindness in coming.

The hearing is now adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:05 a.m., the hearing was adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

## APPENDIX

In order to ascertain the present activities of the Federal Government with relation to the purposes of S. 2979, an identical request for information was sent to various Federal agencies. The text of the request and replies thereto follow:

### (Cover Letter)

U.S. SENATE,  
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES,  
Washington, D.C., July 11, 1968.

Mr. \_\_\_\_\_,

DEAR MR. \_\_\_\_\_: The Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is presently studying S. 2979, a copy of which is enclosed, which would establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture to conduct certain studies and recommend appropriate legislative enactments.

In assessing the merits of the proposed legislation the Subcommittee would like to the cognizance of present programs, emanating from federal agencies, which create, or are potentially capable of creating, a better understanding of Negro history and culture. Initially our interest is primarily in education programs since they are immediately relevant to the proposed bill. However, many federal programs not strictly educational in nature, provide the opportunity for inclusion of such materials and information. Therefore, the Subcommittee would appreciate answers to the following questions:

1. Identify and discuss programs administered by your agency (either directly or through grantees) which contribute significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture.

2. Identify programs of your agency (either directly or through grantees) which do not presently significantly contribute to understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture but which are potentially capable of such contributions without legislative amendment.

3. What effort, generally stated, is your agency making to ensure that Negro contribution to American life, both past and present, are reflected in information disseminated by your agency and in work of grantees supported by our agency?

Detailed answers to these questions, including cost factors, will greatly aid the Subcommittee in its discussions of this most timely subject. Should there be any further questions on procedure and timing please contact Stephen J. Wexler, Counsel, Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, Room 4230, New Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. (202-225-5375).

Ever sincerely,

CLAIBORNE PELL, Chairman.

### (Departmental Replies to Subcommittee Request)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, August 1, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities,  
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: This Department has no program which is directly concerned with Negro history and culture. However, some of our activities contribute indirectly to that field of knowledge.

In 1963 the Department published a folder entitled, "The Negro Farmer's Contribution to American Agriculture." This was issued in connection with our exhibit in the Century of Negro Progress Exposition. More recently, one of our leading social scientists contributed "The Negro in American Agriculture" to *The American Negro Reference Book*.

We are vitally concerned that our Negro farmers realize that they are eligible to take part in all Department programs. In 1965, we published a bulletin aimed at Negro farmers entitled "You Too Can Get Help." In order to better adjust our programs to reach Negro farmers, the Human Resources Branch of Economic Research Service has studied the numbers and economic status of Negroes now in farming.

We are interested in recruiting Negroes for the Department's staff. We have issued a bulletin entitled, "USDA Progress in Equal Employment Opportunity," which pictures Negroes at work in the various Department activities. Since the booklet is used for recruiting, we show grades of the employees pictured.

We have employee training programs at various levels. In a number of them, we have emphasized opportunities for Negroes and have on several occasions used Negro lecturers at the training sessions.

Many of the activities of the USDA Graduate School, an adult education program connected with the Department, are more directly related to Negro history and culture. The Graduate School sponsors lecture series to broaden the outlook of our employees. Recent series have included lectures by Whitney Young, Kenneth Clark, and other Negro leaders.

The current catalogue of the USDA Graduate School lists four courses directly related to Negro culture. They are: "Civil Rights—Problems and Solutions"; "Racial Conflict in the United States"; "African Society and Economics of African Development"; and "Subsaharan Africa: Introduction to Peoples and Cultures." In addition, many other courses such as "Human Rights" and "War Against Poverty" definitely relate to Negro culture and problems. Our courses in American history also give attention to the contributions of Negroes to American life.

Our Agricultural History Branch in the Economic Research Service answers many letters regarding Negro contributions to American agriculture. The Branch also cooperated with the National Park Service in developing a pamphlet on George Washington Carver and birthplace. Recently, the Branch prepared a pamphlet for publication by the House Committee on Agriculture entitled *Men and Milestones in American Agriculture*. George Washington Carver is one of the men featured in it.

It has been our goal in recent years to recognize Negro contributions in the Department. Each year, Negroes are among our honor award winners—not because they are Negroes but because they have made important contributions to our work.

I am in full sympathy with the idea of insuring that Negro contributions, both historical and current, are recognized throughout the Department and throughout agriculture.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH M. ROBERTSON,  
Assistant Secretary for Administration.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,  
MANPOWER AND RESERVE AFFAIRS,  
Washington, D.C., August 16, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL.

Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This letter is in further response to your request of July 11, 1968, for information on programs in the Department of Defense which create or are potentially capable of creating a better understanding of Negro history and culture.

While the educational and training programs of the Department of Defense offer little in the way of special courses which deal with the culture and history of particular ethnic groups, we are aware of the importance of recognizing the participation of all Americans in the fabric of our national history and evolution of the American culture. In furtherance of our concern we attempt to

develop presentations of a rounded, balanced program of education and information to servicemen, their dependents, DoD civilian employees, and in our communications with Congress, the general public, and other individuals and interest groups.

The following areas of education and information represent both current and potential channels of communication through which to project Negro history and culture.

### 1. Education and Training

a. Service Academies: Academic courses in history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, government, military leadership, law, drama, literature, fine arts, etc.

b. Dependent Education (Stateside and overseas schools on military installations for dependent children of servicemen): History, civics, government, psychology, sociology, anthropology, literature, drama, fine arts, etc. (see attached memorandum (Tab A) concerning textbook reviews).

c. Off-duty Education Programs: USAFI, reimbursed tuition programs, either by local attendance or correspondence courses.

d. Basic Training: Recruit education and service orientation.

e. Military Professional Education: Officer and noncommissioned officer schools, professional training (e.g., personnel management, public affairs, law), command conferences, etc.

f. Civilian Employee Training: Supervisory training, personnel management, etc.

### 2. Information Programs

a. Information for the Armed Forces: Television and radio programs; movies: current programs include a twenty minute film, "One Force", which stresses the ethnic unity of the Armed Forces; the "Great American" series is planning a film on George Washington Carver; network television programs, including the CBS series "Of Black America," are being reviewed for rebroadcast to Armed Forces personnel abroad; a half hour radio program on Louis Armstrong is planned.

b. Service publications: Newspapers and magazines.

c. Installation Book and Film Libraries.

d. Public Affairs: Public information, public speaking and recruiting.

In order to provide you with a more complete picture, I am attaching the replies from the Military Departments (Tabs B, C and D) made in response to my memorandum asking for information upon which to base a reply to your inquiry.

Should you desire more information or further clarification, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

JACK MOSKOWITZ,

*Deputy Assistant Secretary (Civil Rights and Industrial Relations).*

Attachments.

### ATTACHMENT A

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,  
MANPOWER AND RESERVE AFFAIRS,  
*Washington, D.C., August 7, 1968.*

Memorandum for: Assistant Secretaries of the Military Departments (M&RA).  
Subject: Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks and Other Related Materials  
Used in DOD Overseas Dependents Schools.

Since text book materials play an important role in learning, it is essential that educators view such materials carefully with regard to their appropriateness for use in classrooms in the Department of Defense Overseas Dependents Schools.

I am concerned with inadequacies of some presently existing materials pertaining to their lack of treatment of all racial and religious groups in America in a fair and adequate manner.

Effective immediately, whenever textbooks are being selected or approved in the area of social studies, reading, literature, or any other areas where multi-ethnic or multi-racial representation will be of concern, special attention shall be given to the degrees to which the textbook fairly represents the presence and contributions of minority racial and ethnic groups to the cultural heritage of America. Further, school area superintendents responsible for operating Department of Defense Overseas Dependents Schools will insure that the courses of

study in dependents schools include appropriate study of the role and contributions of minority racial and ethnic groups which comprise American Society.

I would appreciate receiving, by not later than 31 October 1968, a report on findings and corrective action taken where school textbooks, study guides and other related materials do not conform to the above policy.

ALFRED B. FITT.

ATTACHMENT B

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,  
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., July 29, 1968.

Memorandum for: Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Civil Rights and Industrial Relations).

Subject: Senate Inquiry on Programs Which Create or are Capable of Creating a Better Understanding of Negro History and Culture.

Reference is made to your memorandum above subject, dated 18 July 1968, in which you requested information to answer three questions posed by the Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The Army does not have any programs within the context of questions 1 and 2. With regard to question 3, the Army has published specific documents to acquaint the public and military personnel with policies toward and achievements of the Negro soldier. I have inclosed a list of these for your information. Copies are available in the Office of the Chief of Military History.

Currently, educational materials and special interest items are developed by the Chief of Information, Department of the Army, as part of a directed program to insure that the Negro soldier is recognized in all news media, internal and external for his real accomplishments. Recent television coverage on this subject and the July issue of Army Digest are examples of this effort. Attached is a copy of the July issue.

Programs under control and direction of the Chief of Military History contain contributions made by Negro soldiers. Specifically, the Negro soldier is portrayed in the water color prints of the "American Soldier Series." Over 100,000 sets of these prints have been sold to the general public. Further, the War Art Program of Vietnam has produced over 1,000 pictures in oils, water colors and sketches. Of these a substantial number depict Negro soldiers. This work is done by 6 teams of soldier artists.

As a matter of interest the Army Chief of Military History has been tasked by DOD to develop and publish a special volume entitled "Negro Integration in the Armed Forces Subsequent to WWII." It is scheduled for completion in 1973.

R. H. McDADE  
(For and in the absence of Arthur W. Allen, Jr.,  
Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army,  
Manpower and Reserve Affairs).

OFFICIAL DA PUBLICATIONS PERTAINING TO THE NEGRO SOLDIER

Date published	Title	Remarks
1888-----	"Negro in the Military Service of the United States."	Published by order of The Adjutant General. Author A. E. Woodward Chief of Colored Troops. Document covers the period 1639 to 1888.
1944-----	"History of the 93d Division in World War I."	Book compiled by the Army Historical Division for the Battle Monuments Commission. Published by the Government Printing Office.
1944-----	"Leadership and the Negro Soldier."	Army Service Force Manual No. 5.
1944-----	"Command of Negro Troops"	War Department Pamphlet 20-6.
1947-----	"Negro Manpower in the Army"	Army Talk No. 170, troop topic.
1949-----	do	Basic Training Talk No. 7.
1966-----	"Employment of Negro Troops"	Special study in the series United States Army in World War II. Prepared by the Office of the Chief of Military History, USA. 4,978 copies have been provided to the public and depository libraries.

Note: "The Army Lineage" published in 1953 is a history of each major unit and does contain information pertaining to all Negro units such as the 9th and 10th Cavalry, 92d Division, 93d Division, etc.

[Excerpt from Army Digest, July 1968]

## THE NEGRO'S ARMY HERITAGE

(By Philip R. Smith, Jr.)

The military service of Negroes to the Nation extends back almost three and one half centuries. As slaves and as free men, they participated in the French and Indian Wars. They fought under Generals Braddock and Washington and when on 4 March 1770 the Boston Massacre occurred a Negro, Crispus Attucks, fell along with three other citizens of Boston. A simple memorial with a brief inscription commemorates these men:

"Long as in Freedom's cause the wise contend,  
Dear to your country shall your fame extend;  
While to the world the lettered stone shall tell  
Where Caldwell, Attucks, Gray and Maverick fell."

Featured in John Trumbull's famed painting of the death of the British Major John Pitcairn at Bunker Hill, almost hidden behind a jubilant white patriot, is a dark figure, holding a rifle. He is Peter Salem whose bullet mortally wounded Pitcairn.

Salem was only one of a number of Negroes who participated in the battle. Colonel William Prescott, one of the leaders in the action, said of another Negro, Salem Poor, "He behaved like an experienced officer as well as an excellent soldier."

Although Negroes served predominantly with military units from the Northeast during the Revolution, they also furnished recruits for the guerrilla bands that harassed the British in the South.

A report of Negroes in Washington's command dated 24 August 1778 showed that there were seven brigades with an average of fifty-four in each. A Hessian officer said in 1777: "One sees no regiment in which there are not Negroes in abundance, and among them are able-bodied, sturdy fellows."

## WAR OF 1812

At the Battle of New Orleans white and black man served together in manning the defenses against the British. Among the infantrymen who defeated the seasoned British troops were the Louisiana Free Men of Color and the San Domingo Free Men of Color. There were also a number of Negroes in the ranks of the Baratarians—the pirates who came to the aid of General Jackson.

In a proclamation issued just before the battle, General Jackson addressed his colored soldiers:

"To the Men of Color—

"Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I have collected you to arms; I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you for I was not misinformed of those qualities which must render you so formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you would endure hunger and thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves, you had to defend all that is most dear to man; but you surpass my hopes. I have found in you united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds."

## CIVIL WAR

By 1863 the North was raising considerable numbers of Negro regiments to serve in the Civil War. Although the majority of them served as noncombatants, a number of all-Negro regiments saw combat action. As General Ben Butler, a Union officer, put it "I knew that they would fight more desperately than any white troops, in order to prevent capture, because they knew . . . if captured they would be returned to slavery." In all, over 300,000 Negroes served in the Union armies throughout the Civil War, and more than 38,000 of them lost their lives. By the early part of 1865 the Congress of the Confederacy was preparing to vote regiments of Negroes into the Confederate service.

## INDIAN FIGHTERS

At the close of the Civil War, Congress authorized the formation of Regular Army units composed of Negro soldiers led by white officers. Recruited from southern plantations and from the Negro volunteers who had fought during the

Civil War, the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry served continuously and courageously on the western frontier throughout the remaining three decades of Indian hostilities.

The 9th and 10th Cavalry, the famous "Buffalo Soldiers," compiled a record of courage in actions against the Indians on the western frontier.

The famous artist of the American West, Frederic Remington, who spent considerable time with these units, said of the Buffalo soldiers, "They have fought many times. The old Sergeant sitting near me, as calm of feature as a bronze statue, once deliberately walked over to a Cheyenne rifle pit and killed his man. One little fellow near him once took charge of a lot of stampeded cavalry horses, when Apache bullets were flying loose and no one knew from what point to expect them next."

In 1877 the Apaches were on the warpath and the 9th U.S. Cavalry was among the units sent to quell the uprising. In one action in the Florida Mountains of New Mexico, a small party of men from Company C attempted to persuade some renegades to surrender. During the negotiations the troopers were surrounded, and when they attempted to break out, fighting erupted. The citation for the Medal of Honor awarded to CPL Clinton Greaves says simply: "Gallantry in a hand-to-hand fight." CPL Greaves, in the very center of the savage hand-to-hand fighting, managed to shoot and bash a gap through the swarming Apaches, permitting his companions to break free.

The names of Buffalo soldiers entered on the rolls of the Medal of Honor continued to grow through the years—SGT Thomas Boyne at Mimbres Mountains, New Mexico, 29 May 1879; SGT John Denny, Las Animas Canyon, New Mexico, 18 September 1879; SGT George Jordan at Fort Tularosa, New Mexico, 14 May 1880; PVT Augustus Walley at Cuchillo Negro Mountains, New Mexico, on 16 August 1881; and so on down through the years.

#### SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The charge up San Juan Hill is part of the Nation's folklore. Little is known, however, of the part played in that action by the Negro troops of the 24th Infantry Regiment. Following is a contemporary account:

"The regiment was finally directed forward, crossing San Juan River at the ford just below its junction with the Aguadores, and taking post in the open field just inside the wire fence which paralleled the river at this point. The regiment was in rear of and supporting the Thirteenth Infantry, and it lay there in the grass some minutes before the advance was resumed. The different companies of the Twenty-fourth were hurried forward to fill the gaps in the line, most of the companies reaching the first line during its rush across the flat, and taking part in the movement up the hill with the Sixth, Sixteenth and Thirteenth Regiments of Infantry. By these regiments San Juan Block House was captured, probably not one contributing more towards its capture than another."

#### PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

Between 1889 and 1900 the four regular Negro regiments along with two volunteer units fought in the Philippine Insurrection.

#### MEXICAN PUNITIVE EXPEDITION

The 9th and 10th Cavalry also served under GEN John J. Pershing in actions along the Mexican border with the 10th accompanying the expedition into Mexico.

#### WORLD WAR I

In World War I the bulk of the 404,348 Negro troops were in the Services of Supply. Two infantry divisions—the 92d and 93d—were formed and sent to France. The four regular regiments—the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments—were assigned to defensive positions in the continental United States and its island territories.

The 93d, built up around Negro National Guard units, established a fine record. The 369th Infantry Regiment of the 93d in 191 days of front-line action became known as the "Hell Fighters." Two men of the 369th, Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts, became the first Americans to win the French Croix de Guerre. The French Government awarded the Croix de Guerre to three of the regiments of the 93d.

The 92d Division, made up largely of draftees, spent fifty-one days in a quiet and two days in an active sector in France. On 10 and 11 November the whole 92d Division was sent into action with the other three front-line divisions of the U.S. Second Army to attack the second Hindenburg Line.

General John J. Pershing, Commander of the A.E.F., who had long served with Negro units, said in a communication from General Headquarters of the A.E.F. on 19 June 1918: "I cannot commend too highly the spirit shown among the colored combat troops who exhibit fine capacity for quick training and eagerness for the most dangerous work."

#### WORLD WAR II

The 992,965 Negro troops and 7,700 officers who served in World War II were utilized over a longer period of time than in any previous war. They served in more branches of the Army and in a greater variety of units ranging from divisions to platoons and from fighter units to quartermaster service companies. They performed under a wider range of geographical and climatic conditions than was believed possible in 1942.

The contributions made by more than 4,000 Negro Army units in World War II cannot be overestimated. Many individuals volunteered to serve in combat units and four were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

Nine separate Negro field artillery battalions served in Europe. All were heavy caliber units used as corps artillery for general support or for reinforcing the fires of one or more divisions.

Three Negro armored units were committed to combat in Europe during World War II.

In the air war Lt. Charles B. Hall of the Army Air Corps was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and credited with the all-Negro 99th Fighter Squadron's first aerial victory when he destroyed a Focke-Wulf 190 in aerial combat on 2 July 1943. Six months later, on 27 January 1944, the squadron made 8 confirmed hits against more than 100 enemy aircraft over the Anzio-Nettuno beach head.

#### KOREAN WAR

During the Korean War the U.S. Army led the other military services in the integration of Negro units. Men of many nations fought together well during the war and this probably was one of the factors in bringing about the long overdue integration of U.S. Army units. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, then commander of the Eighth Army, said of the integration: "It was my conviction . . . that only in this way could we assure the sort of esprit a fighting army needs, where each soldier stands proudly on his own feet, knowing himself to be as good as the next fellow and better than the enemy."

The Office of the Chief of Military History's volume on the Korean War says, "With the outbreak of the war, Negro enlistments grew. . . . By early 1951 Eighth Army personnel offices began to assign excess Negro personnel to understrength white units and the results were highly gratifying on the whole."

On 1 October 1951 the personnel of the 24th Regiment were integrated and several other all-Negro units were split up during the late summer and early fall of 1951.

Two Negroes, Pfc. William Thompson and Sgt. Cornelious Charlton, won the Medal of Honor for their gallantry during the Korean War.

#### REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

Today white man and black are fighting side by side in the Republic of Vietnam. The names of three men stand out along with the score of white and Negro soldiers who have won our Nation's highest award for valor in that war-torn nation.

Pfc. Milton L. Olive, III was awarded the Medal of Honor posthumously for his actions in the vicinity of Phu Cuong, Republic of Vietnam on 22 October 1965. The citation reads:

"As the platoon pursued the insurgents, Private Olive and four other soldiers were moving through the jungle together when a grenade was thrown into their midst. Private Olive saw the grenade, and then saved the lives of his fellow soldiers at the sacrifice of his own by grabbing the grenade in his hand and falling on it to absorb the blast with his body. . . ."

The second Negro to win the Medal of Honor, SP5 Lawrence Joel, risked his life while serving as a medical aidman in the Republic of Vietnam, to treat the wounded of his unit although he himself was wounded. As the citation reads:

"Throughout the long battle, Specialist Joel never lost sight of his mission as a Medical Aidman and continued to comfort and treat the wounded until his own evacuation was ordered."

The latest to win the Medal of Honor, SGT Donald R. Long, was awarded the decoration posthumously for actions during a reconnaissance mission near Srok Dong, Republic of Vietnam, on 31 June 1966. The citation reads in part: "When an enemy grenade was hurled onto the deck of his Armored Personnel Carrier he immediately shouted a warning and pushed to safety a man who had not heard. Realizing that these actions would not fully protect the exposed crewmen, SGT Long threw himself over the grenade to absorb the blast and thereby saved the lives of eight of his comrades at the expense of his own life."

Regarding the role of the Negro in the U.S. Army, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor said recently:

"In 1948 President Truman issued an Executive Order prohibiting racial segregation in the Armed Forces. Since then, the Army, along with the other Services, has led the way for the rest of our Nation."

"The policy of equal treatment and opportunity, in addition to being a just one, has paid dividends to the Army. Today we have 5,500 Negro Army officers. Among infantry sergeants—the backbone of our combat forces in Vietnam—24 percent are Negro."

The American Negro over the years has overcome the opposition of those who would frustrate his attempts to serve as a co-equal comrade in arms. The record of recent years indicates that he has gained substantial ground in this struggle.

#### NEGRO CADETS AT U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY

Nine Negro cadets were graduated in June from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. Making up the largest group to be graduated from the Academy in its history, they are Ernest Flowers, Jr., Victor F. Garcia, James T. Howard, Larry R. Jordon, Leroy B. Outlaw, Benny L. Robinson, Wilson L. Rorie, Ralph B. Tildon, Jr. and John T. Martin, III.

Negroes have been admitted to the Military Academy since 1870, with the first being appointed from Tennessee. During the period 1870 through 1967, comprising the Classes of 1874 through 1971, a total of 125 Negroes have been admitted, of whom fifty-six have been graduated. Forty-one failed to graduate and twenty-nine are presently members of the Corps of Cadets.

The first Negro graduate was Henry O. Flipper, Class of 1877.

The highest-ranking Negro graduate (Class of 1936) is LTG (USAF) Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., who in 1967 became Commander of the 13th Air Force, Clark Air Force Base, Republic of the Philippines.

Latest figures available (as of 21 June 1967) show that of the fifty-three Negro graduates of the Military Academy, forty-one are on active duty—thirty-three in the Army and eight in the Air Force.

#### ATTACHMENT C

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., August 1, 1968.

Memorandum for: The Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs).

Subject: Senate Inquiry on Programs which Create or are Capable of Creating a Better Understanding of Negro History and Culture.

Reference: (a) Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Civil Rights and Industrial Relations) memorandum of 18 July 1968 (with attachment).

Enclosure: (1) The Navy Challenge . . . Future of the Negro in the United States Navy.

This is in response to reference (a) which requests information on Navy's educational programs and efforts contributing to better understanding of Negro history and culture.

Within the Department of the Navy, there are no programs under the cognizance of the Commandant of the Marine Corps or Chief of Naval Personnel which are oriented toward the teaching of Negro history and culture. However, courses of instruction at various Navy indoctrination centers, including officer and enlisted, are involved in teaching some form of history or orientation about

the American people as a whole. Examples of programs which could include, without legislative action, aspects of Negro history and culture as part of a more general curriculum, with special emphasis on Negro service in the Navy since the revolution include:

a. Units of major courses in history at the Naval Academy. This would be at the expense of other subject matter in a crowded curriculum.

b. NROTC students could be encouraged to elect courses which include aspects of Negro history and culture. The Navy could not require the teaching of Negro history and culture by any of the individual colleges involved in the NROTC program.

The Department of the Navy's Office of Information, although not a repository of historical data does, however, collect and disseminate through its information programs data on current Negro history as it relates to the accomplishments of Negroes in the Navy. The comparatively small number of Negroes in both enlisted and officer programs is of continuing concern to the Navy. A primary obstacle to recruiting is the prevailing opinion among some Negroes that their race and color prevent full and just participation and advancement in the Naval Service. Renewed efforts are being made by the Office of Information to reverse this opinion. To accomplish this, attempts are being made to show that a Navy man's ability, not his race, is the criteria for advancement. The attached material, distributed by the Chief of Naval Personnel, is representative of literature portraying Negro contributions to Navy activities. A press kit is currently being prepared by Headquarters, Marine Corps which is designed to portray the history of the Negro in the Marine Corps.

From 1948 until about 1963, personnel records maintained by the Navy did not reflect racial backgrounds. Consequently, specific Negro achievements during this period are not readily available. The Office of Information attempts to recognize the achievements of all Navy personnel regardless of race. Any other approach would be divisive and not in the best interest of the Navy.

Since 1963, the Office of Information has operated under SECNAV Instruction 5350.1, stipulating minority personnel ratios of one-to-nine in the presentation of pictorial material, still and motion picture. Pictorial releases are reviewed to ensure that this ratio is observed. BUPERS Instruction 5350.2 further stipulates similar ratios for internal publications throughout the Navy.

Navy Commander Dennis D. Nelson, because of his interest in documenting the history of the Negro in the Navy, wrote his Master of Arts thesis in Sociology entitled "The Integration of the Negro in the U.S. Navy". The thesis is filed in the archives of the Howard University library. There is no record in the Office of Information of the use of this paper by persons interested in the subject. Since 1944, various articles and documents have been published at the request of interested groups, reflecting the Navy's acceptance and integration of the Negro within its entire structure. Requesting organizations have included the NAACP and Johnson Publishing Company—publishers of Jet and Ebony magazines. The frequency of such requests has established within the Office of Information a requirement for maintaining such information in a special file. This file, however, is scant and consists primarily of news accounts and releases on the accomplishments of Negroes in the Naval Service.

The organizational structure of the Navy's Office of Information has the potential of significantly contributing to the understanding and knowledge of Negro accomplishments. It is believed that the following efforts can be made, and without additional legislation, to ensure that Negro contribution to American life, both past and present, receives recognition:

a. Provide current bulletins, messages and memos to our Public Affairs Officers in the field to ensure coordination of efforts throughout the Navy to recognize achievement of minority groups.

b. To solicit and generate more news stories and feature releases on the activities and participation of minority members of the Navy.

c. To ensure the presence in still and motion picture photography of minority group members.

d. To concentrate on the production of films and radio tapes highlighting our minority members for use in the Armed Forces radio/TV networks.

e. Advise and monitor our field offices' activities in placing minority members of the Navy on national and local live TV and radio programs.

f. Concentrate Fleet Home Town News Center efforts in highlighting minority members in news stories for local consumption.

g. Encourage artists of our Combat Art Program to include subjects featuring minority members.

- h. Include activities of minority members of the Navy in exhibits for exposure throughout the United States.
- i. Extend invitations to executives of minority groups in our cities to participate in SECNAV Cruises and visits to our Naval installations.
- j. Make full use of Navy internal publications to highlight the activities of our minority groups.
- k. Provide station newspapers and publications with photos and news stories on the activities of our minority groups.
- l. Employ the professional and capable talent of members of our Naval Reserve Public Relations Companies to assist in these efforts.
- m. Arrange for Navy Negro speakers to appear at various institutions.

A beginning has already been made within the Office of Information to establish a task force to monitor and coordinate Navy-wide efforts in improving information programs as related to minority groups. Lieutenant Commander Melvin E. Patridge, a Negro, has recently been assigned to the Office of Information to conduct studies and recommend guidelines to establish a program for recognizing the contributions of Negroes and members of other ethnic minority groups in the Navy. He is well qualified for this task—having served for six years as a teacher at a predominantly Negro college, five years in intensive study in mass communications at UCLA leading to Master of Arts degree, two years as a motion picture news cameraman at a major television station, and is the recipient of three financial fellowships from organizations recognizing his potential in competition with others.

In the area of civilian employment, several aspects of the Equal Employment Opportunity Program may be considered as contributive to a better understanding of Negro history and culture. For example, in connection with advancement of employment opportunities for minority group employees a Department of the Navy Supervisory Training Handbook was developed as a guide for all Naval activities employing civilians. This handbook, including a personal statement by the Secretary of the Navy required that training courses be given at all Naval activities and that, preferably, these courses should include contributions made by various Negro leaders today as well as those of the past. It encouraged inviting local prominent community or educational leaders, who were knowledgeable and forceful, to speak at training courses. Most Naval activities have compiled with these suggestions.

In addition to in-house supervisory training, several Naval activities in various Districts have cooperated with community groups or public school systems and Naval employees have attended courses in Negro history provided by the community. Further, the Office of Civilian Manpower Management has distributed to all Naval activities a booklet entitled "Epitaph for Jim Crow" by Thomas Pettigrew. The booklet, also available in film form (series of 5), was produced by a television station in Boston under the auspices of Harvard University. The films, and others in the Equal Employment Opportunity Program dealing with some Negro history, have been loaned to numerous Naval activities for use in the Equal Employment Training program.

R. S. DRIVER,

*Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Manpower and Reserve Affairs).*



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"Left full rudder, aye . . . port engine, back one-third, aye. The rudder is left full, sir . . . port engine answers back one-third, sir . . ."

Thus begins another voyage and the ship moves slowly out into the channel. Past other ships, past the last few cottages clinging to the rocky shore, past the bobbing sea-buoy. The first swells roll in from the open sea and give rhythmic life to the deck. The colorful signal flags snap in the breeze.

Another voyage for a Navy ship. It could be a cruiser, an ammunition ship, or an aircraft carrier. Perhaps it is the destroyer TAUSSIG, bound for Japan. On the bridge, Commander Samuel Gravely will settle back in the Captain's chair—his chair—and let a cup of coffee warm his hands. He will take reports from the Officer-of-the-Deck, and from other members of his staff. He may be thinking of many things—of the voyage ahead, of new countries to be visited, or the responsibilities he assumed when he saluted the former commanding officer and said, "I believe you, sir."

The ship will be surrounded by the beauty of the sea as the day moves forward: the brilliant clouds above, the vibrant colors of the water below, the joyous plunge of the porpoise playing tag with the bow; and, at night, the mysterious glow of phosphorescence churned up in the wake. The same beauty that has always been a part of life at sea, for all sailors, from the beginnings of time.



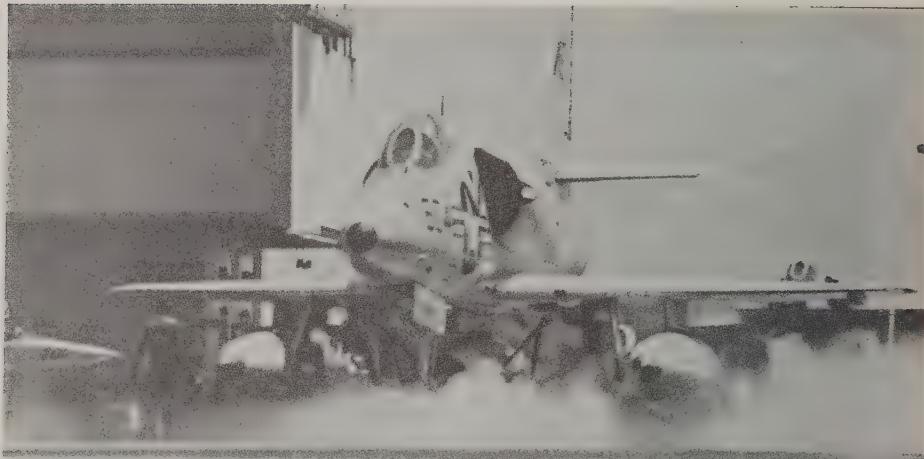
ABOVE: Cruisers and destroyers on patrol with the U.S. SIXTH Fleet in the Mediterranean.

LEFT: The seaplane tender SALISBURY SOUND is gently pulled around by a tug-boat.

BELOW, left: Lieutenant Commander M. J. Breen and Commander Samuel Gravely in a traditional cake-cutting ceremony following the change of command of a Navy ship.

BELOW, right: Navy SWIFT boats on patrol off the coast of Vietnam.





## *Launch aircraft!*

The anonymous voice comes booming over the announcing system on the giant aircraft carrier: "Now, man your flight quarters stations . . ." The flight deck crewmen drain the last gulp of coffee, and move quickly out into the pre-dawn darkness, each to his assigned place.

Below decks, the life of the ship goes on. A radioman checks a teletype circuit; an engineman adjusts the flow of steam to the spinning turbines; the cooks are preparing the third sitting of breakfast. The cooks will prepare 12,000 meals during the day.

Again the voice: "Check all loose gear about the decks." The flight-deck crew searches for any small object which could be sucked into a jet engine.

The air is filled with noise; the sound of the wind, the sound of tractor engines, the thwomp and whine of the catapult as it is tested, the sound of the voice: "Prepare to launch aircraft." The pace quickens, just as the first streaks of dawn appear in the

sky. Pilots and plane captains make last minute checks of the airplanes. Portable starters are moved into position. "Start engines . . ."

The whine of a dozen jet engines adds to the sound of the wind. The first plane moves to the catapult. The pilot checks his instruments and watches the catapult officer for important signals. From the bridge, the captain watches the scene, noting with satisfaction the precision with which the flight-deck crew goes about the morning's business.

"Launch aircraft." The jet engine is turned up to full power; the catapult fires and the 40,000 pound airplane is hurled into the sky. Within seconds it is miles away from the carrier; within seconds, it is followed by the other waiting planes.

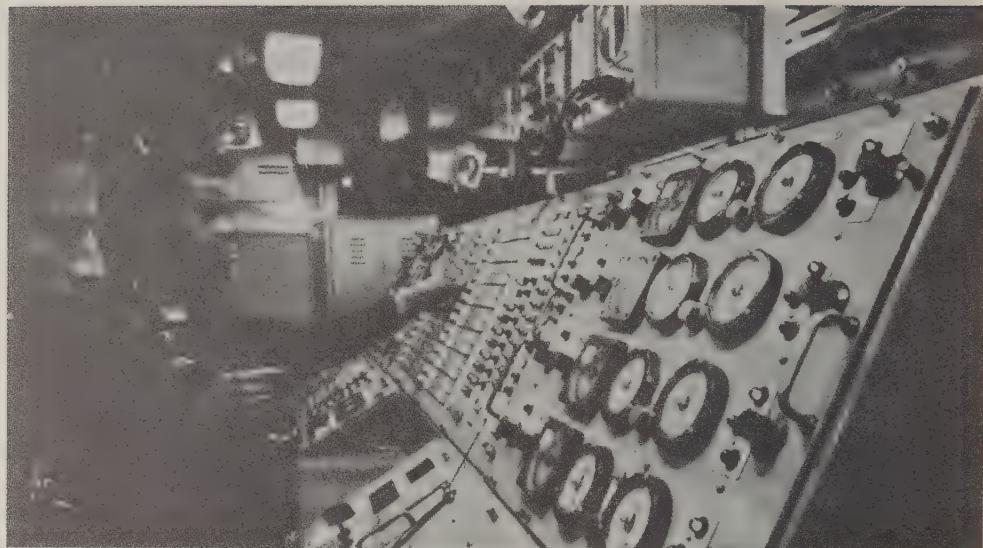
The sound of the jet engines fades quickly in the distance; the sound of the wind fades as the carrier turns to another course. But the day's activity on the flight deck has only just begun.



Not all Naval Aviators are flying from carriers. Some fly long-range patrol planes, and some—like Lieutenant Commander Richard Williams, are serving a tour of shore duty. He is assigned as Operations Officer on the staff of the Commander, Anti-Submarine Warfare Forces, Atlantic. Most of his duties keep him on the ground—but he still finds time to fly keeping his skills sharp for his next flying job.

The life of a pilot may be glamorous and exciting—but the life of a pilot will also depend upon the dedication and skills of the men who keep his airplane in top condition. Men like Richard N. Bailey, an aviation machinist mate. In this photo, Petty Officer Bailey is working on the turbine rotor from a jet engine.





## Dive . . . dive!

The rasping sound of the diving alarm sounds throughout the submarine. The propeller churns the water astern as the boat goes to "full speed."

"Clear the bridge . . ." The bridge watch takes a last quick look around, then scampers down the ladder into the conning tower. The hatch is slammed shut and dogged down tightly. The boat is already on her way down.

"Green board, sir . . ." All hatches are closed. "Thirty feet, sir . . ."

"Very well. Level off at 125 feet . . ." "125 feet, aye sir . . ." Indicating 125 feet, sir."

"Very well. Blow negative." ". . . negative is blown, sir." "Ahead one-third."

If this is an attack submarine it may be moving out on an exercise patrol. It may be preparing to conduct training operations with ships and aircraft above. Preparing to play a deadly serious game of cat-and-mouse.

If it is a ballistic missile submarine—the size of a World War II cruiser and carrying 16 incredibly powerful POLARIS missiles, it may be moving out to take up an undisclosed station somewhere in the oceans of the world. Hidden from enemy eyes, protected from enemy attack, the POLARIS boat will spend 60 days at a time, underwater, waiting. Waiting for a day which every man aboard hopes will never come—a day when the missiles will be fired in earnest. But if that day should come, the POLARIS boats are ready. Because the people of the submarine Navy keep them that way.



ABOVE: The POLARIS submarine SAM HOUSTON, entering the harbor at Holy Loch, Scotland.

RIGHT, top: the nuclear-powered attack submarine DACE underway in the Gulf of Mexico.

RIGHT: SAM RAYBURN with missile ports open to show POLARIS launching tubes.



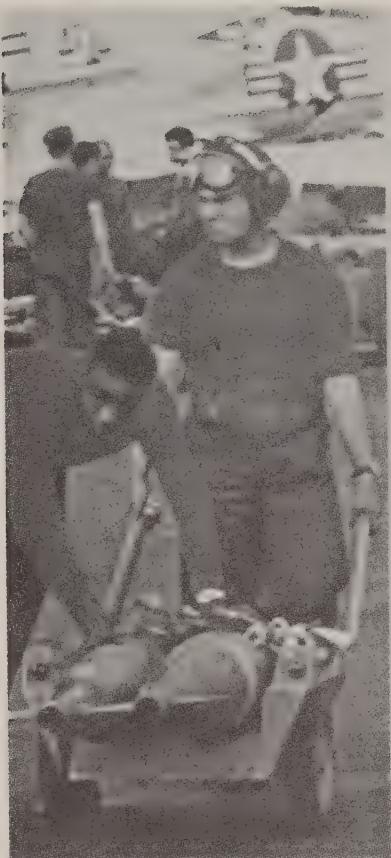


## *People*



The man above is readying the catapult bridle for a CRUSADER jet; Lieutenant Ernest Sims, a Navy doctor, prescribes medicine for a Vietnamese villager; Radio-man Merwyn Tarpley keeps his ship in touch with the rest of the world.





On a carrier flight deck, the color of a man's shirt tells his job. Red for ammunition and fuel handlers; blue for plane handlers; yellow for plane directors. The green-shirted catapult man at right has found a few minutes to rest during a rare break in operations.



*... and more people*



An average day in the Navy is a day of hard and satisfying work. But it may also be a day of many other things. It may be a day of joy or sorrow—a day when the aid and comfort of Navy chaplains, like Captain Thomas D. Parham, will be needed.



It may be a day for rest and relaxation—for a basketball game on the hangar deck of an aircraft carrier, hard-fought between the deck force and the engineering department. Or a more formal contest with, perhaps, more spectacular moments—like the day Naval Academy Midshipman Calvin Huey snagged a touchdown pass in the end-zone during a Navy-Syracuse game.

It may be a day of recognition—of commendation from the commanding officer, or a pat on the back from the leading chief, or a "well done" from the squadron commander.

Or it may be a day of travel. Navy bandsman Cornelius Johnson serenading a public gathering in Chile; the men in the liberty boats at far right, about to sample the sights, sounds, and pleasures of Naples, Italy, and Hong Kong. B.C.C. Like all navymen everywhere, they will soon have



a thousand stories to tell; a thousand experiences to remember in later years. The ship's party on the beach at Palma. The exotic dinner at the home of a Japanese merchant. The view of Hong Kong harbor from the top of Victoria Peak. Skin diving

in the Virgin Islands. Surfing in Hawaii. The Acropolis at dawn. The endless miles of snow and ice on the Antarctic continent. The world-wide range of human experience. The experience of navymen and women.

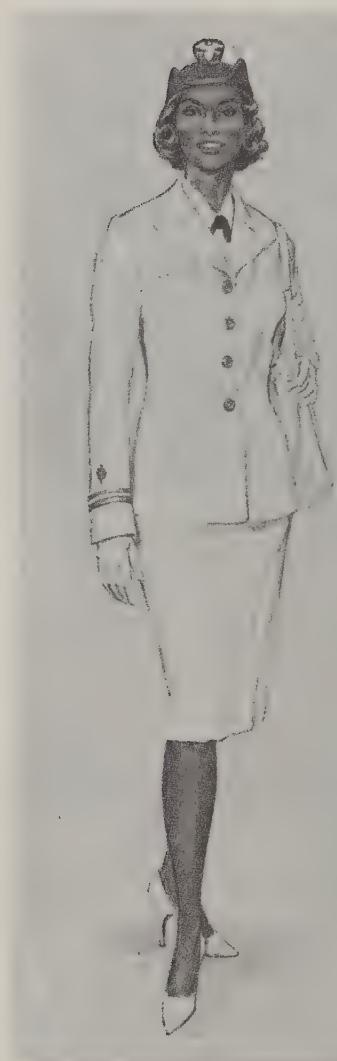


## Programs

As we mentioned earlier in this book, navymen are involved in everything from aerology to zoology. And there are thousands of separate job specialities in between—job specialities which may be open to you, and for which the Navy will train you.

Do you want to learn a trade, and learn it well? Navy technical schools are among the finest in the world. There's a Navy job to relate to almost any civilian job you can think of—from plumbing to restaurant management, from weather forecasting to printing, from welding to bookkeeping.

Are you interested in nuclear physics? The U.S. Navy is the acknowledged world leader in the practical application of nuclear energy. Want to learn about computers? The Navy was a pioneer in the design and application of computers, and continues to be at the forefront of computer technology.







Do you want to work in the field of journalism? Navy journalists cover the world—writing, editing, interviewing, running weekly newspapers, managing radio and television stations.

Do you want to go to college and earn a position as a commissioned officer? Selected Navy men and women are sent to college, full-time, expenses paid, in programs leading to degrees and commissions. And the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, and the 53 colleges and universities in the Naval Reserve Officer's Training Corps are open to all qualified young men. If you already have a college degree, you may be eligible for a commission through Officer's Candidate School at Newport, Rhode Island. And commissions are available through the Naval Aviation Cadet program.

These are just a few of the programs open to young men and women who are interested in the challenge of Navy life. Drop by your local Navy recruiter—he'll be glad to give you more details.

It's your future—it's your challenge.



## ATTACHMENT D

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, July 29, 1968.

Memorandum for: Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Reserve Affairs).

Subject: Senate inquiry on programs which create or are capable of creating a better understanding of Negro history and culture.

Reference is made to your memorandum, subject as above, dated July 18, 1968. The primary mission of the Air Force is to provide qualified, trained personnel capable of functioning effectively in an ever changing weapons system. Negro personnel, as well as personnel of any other race, are afforded an equal opportunity in all phases of Air Force life, whether it be job training and promotion or voluntary off-duty education. Air Force libraries make books available on a multitude of subject areas, a proportionate number of which are in the area of Negro history and culture. To the best knowledge of the Department of the Air Force there is no active phase of Air Force life where discrimination on the basis of race, color or creed is practiced, nor is special emphasis placed on the history or culture of any segment of assigned personnel.

J. WILLIAM DOOLITTLE,  
Assistant Secretary of the Air Force,  
Manpower and Reserve Affairs.

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,  
Washington, August 30, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
Chairman, Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN PELL: As promised in my letter of July 24, I am sending you a report of Office of Education programs emphasizing Negro history and culture.

The accompanying report gives a review of programs that significantly contribute to an understanding of Negro history and culture or have the potential to do so. The contributors are: the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education; the Bureau of Adult, Vocational and Library Programs; the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped; the Bureau of Research; and the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development.

With the exception of the Bureau of Higher Education, each of the Bureaus administers programs that relate to Negro history and culture. The majority of these programs appear to be operated by the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education and the Bureau of Research. According to these reports, there are many programs which do not presently contribute to understanding in this area, but which are potentially capable of doing so without legislative amendment.

Sincerely,

WILBUR J. COHEN, Secretary.

Enclosure.

U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION—BUREAU OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has the potential for contributing to an understanding of Negro history and culture. The programs of 17 university institutes on desegregation problems funded in Fiscal Year 1968 generally include some consideration of Negro history and culture. Short term training institutes operated by our 15 university desegregation centers frequently include some consideration of these topics. Our total program funds (\$8.5 million in FY '68) are so limited, however, that proposals limited to conveying an understanding of Negro history and culture alone generally receive low priority in favor of programs dealing with the immediate and pressing administrative and organizational problems which accompany the desegregation of school districts. A great interest in improving understanding of Negro history and culture has been evident in school districts of both the north and south.

BUREAU OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION—DIVISION OF PLANS AND  
SUPPLEMENTARY CENTERS

In the last three years, the Division of Plans and Supplementary Centers funded under ESEA Title III, 18 projects costing \$2 million that directly contributed to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. Examples of such projects are attached. In addition, Title III has funded many more projects which included such activities as a component of a larger program.

One of our Division programs that might be used to create better understanding of Negro history and culture is ESEA Title VIII, but as of this date, funds have not been appropriated for this Title.

Information on Negro contributions to American life, both past and present, resulting from our program operation are disseminated mainly through Educational Resources Information Center indexing and microfiche distribution and through ERIC Clearing House operation.

EXAMPLES OF PROJECTS FOR NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE (ESEA TITLE III)

CALIFORNIA

*Stockton: Stockton Unified School District.*

*A Model for the Study of Immediate and Future Educational Needs in a Metropolitan Area.*

Planning Project: OE No. 67-3844; Amount Sought: \$94,101.

Description: A model curriculum, designed to resolve the problems of urban education, will be developed using an interdisciplinary approach. Emphasis will be given to the eradication of racial, ethnic, and economic imbalance within the schools.

Counties served: San Joaquin.

Further information: James M. Reusswig, Superintendent of Schools, 701 North Madison Street, Stockton, California, 95202. (209) 466-3911.

*San Jose: East Side Union High School District*

*Developing a Preventive Strategy for Meeting Tomorrow's Educational, Vocational, Ethnic and Societal Demands.*

Operational Project: OE No. 68-6682; Amount Sought: \$49,782.

Description: All segments of the community will be involved in the development of a total secondary education program that will include in its curriculums techniques to improve communication between ethnic and racial groups and to compensate for educational and cultural disadvantages. The Program will employ a number of instructional strategies designed to lower communication barriers between minority racial and ethnic groups, who in this area are largely Mexican-American and some Negro people. Groups of students will meet with administrators to develop a realistic student behavior code; speakers from minority groups who have attained success in a vocational field will be brought into the schools on a regular basis; one parent and 12 students will meet regularly to discuss differing ways people perceive the world about them; and world geography classes will be designed to emphasize the contributions to American culture made by people from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The use of these strategies is designed to facilitate the transition from secondary school to the world of work and/or continuing education and to raise the aspiration levels of economically and educationally disadvantaged students. Visits will be made to various industrial sites, and discussions with personnel will give the students a picture of what different jobs are like; visits will be made to college campuses for a day's activity; and a program of vocational exploration will be conducted as part of the English curriculum. A curriculum committee will plan for the establishment of an educational park, the facilities and programs of which will be such that they can readily be adapted to curriculum changes. The educational park will emphasize decentralized schools within a district and will provide cultural and recreational facilities that will be available to the entire community on a year-round basis. The park will also provide a location for social services provided by city, county, and private agencies.

Counties served: Santa Clara.

Further information: Frank Fiscalina, Superintendent, 12660 North Capitol Avenue, San Jose, California 95133. (408) 251-0570.

## COLORADO

*Denver: School District No. 1 City and County of Denver*

*Improving Attitudes, Cultural Understanding, and the Opportunity for Achievement Through Educational Television.*

Planning Project: OE No. 66-1034; Amount Sought: \$10,700.

Description: A series of four television programs will be planned to trace the historical development and contributions of four minority ethnic groups in the Denver area.

Further information: Dr. Kenneth E. Oberholtzer, Superintendent of Schools, Denver Public Schools, 414 Fourteenth Street, Denver, Colorado 80202. (303) 266-2255.

*Pueblo: School District No. 60 in the County of Pueblo**Pueblo Intercultural Planning Project.*

Planning Project: OE No. 66-213; Amount Sought: \$26,261.

Description: A program, including panel discussions, classroom presentations, community concerts, art exhibits, and television programs, is to be developed for strengthening intercultural understanding and interpersonal relations in the community through the fine arts. The project director is to initiate studies of the size, geographic location, attitudes, and leadership of the various ethnic groups. On the basis of these studies, a committee is to involve groups representative of each of the subcultures of the community in presenting programs of their art, music, literature, history, and language. Estimated number of persons to be served: 100,000 persons (all ethnic and age groups in the community).

Further information: Vernon Cochran, Administrative Assistant, 102 West Orman Avenue, Pueblo, Colorado (303) 542-2850.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

*District of Columbia: Board of Education**A Proposal To Plan an Inter-Disciplinary Resource Center on "The Negro Heritage."*

Planning Project: OE No. 67-2883; Amount Sought: \$40,274.

Description: A program will be designed to utilize existing educational facilities and the Frederick Douglass Institute of Negro Arts and History as a supplementary curriculum resource for presenting educational materials to help the Negro develop pride in his heritage and to help counteract white prejudice towards the Negro. Educators, psychologists, and sociologists will help to develop a complete curriculum resource center which will provide a pilot teaching program, resource materials, and audio-visual aids.

Further information: Joseph M. Carroll, Assistant Superintendent for Research, Budget and Legislation, 1411 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. (202) ST 3-6111 Ext. 221.

## ILLINOIS

*Park Forrest: Park Forest Public Schools District No. 163**Center for Ethnic Studies.*

Operational Project: OE No. 68-6214; Amount Sought: \$58,318.

Description: To encourage more positive attitudes toward different ethnic, racial, and religious groups, a center for ethnic studies and human relationships will be established by the elementary school district. The center will conduct adult education programs, will provide curriculum materials for public and non-public area schools, and will work with community leaders to implement the programs. Programs for children in grades K-8 will emphasize positive attitudes toward people different from themselves. A parent-teacher workshop to study the nature of prejudice will be planned.

Counties served: Cook.

Further information: Irving S. Spigle, Assistant Superintendent, 242 South Orchard Drive, Park Forest, Illinois 60466. (312) 748-7050.

## RHODE ISLAND

*Providence: Public Schools of the City of Providence**The Martin Luther King Cultural Center.*

Operational Project: OE No. 68-6771; Amount Sought: \$23,339.

Description: A summer program will be established for 360 disadvantaged adolescents to stimulate greater aesthetic interests and develop their potential

abilities. This will be done by using group methods of learning for short-span participation using radio-taped performances combining music, art, literature, drama and the dance. The activities will be integrated and coordinated with a community arts festival which is being planned by local community groups and is supported by both State and local agencies. The King cultural center project will develop growth in visual perception and creative self-expression, while at the same time encouraging latent talent and developing skills.

Counties served: Providence.

Further information: Charles A. O'Conner, Jr., Superintendent, Public Schools of the City of Providence, 170 Pond Street, Providence, Rhode Island 02903. (401) 272-4900.

**BUREAU OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION—DIVISION OF COMPENSATORY EDUCATION**

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is implemented at the local level by the local school districts and is not presently making a significant contribution to the understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. However, it is potentially capable of making such contributions without legislative amendment. This can be done by school districts making wider use of multi-racial textbooks whenever possible, having extensive inservice training programs for teachers and teacher aides on race relations, and by having the social studies and literature teachers focus attention on Negro life and history in their classes.

The Division, in cooperation with other elements in the Office of Education, is making a start to ensure that the educational story of the Negro in America, both past and present, is researched and compiled. An Area Desk Program Specialist is preparing an exhibit proposal called "The History of Negro Education: A Study in Compensatory Education, 1619-1965." The Office of Education also could undertake for dissemination a historical study of the efforts made by the Federal Government to meet the special educational needs of disadvantaged minorities during periods of social crises, especially during the Civil War, Reconstruction, the Great Depression, as well as during the Civil Rights struggles in the 1960's. Such a study would reveal the roots and the understanding as to why Negroes are educationally disadvantaged in an affluent society and provide a historical basis for better understanding of the present status of the Negro education level.

**U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION—BUREAU OF EDUCATION PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT: TEACHER CORPS**

**INTRODUCTION**

Since the inception of the Teacher Corps program, a high priority has been placed on the inclusion of Negro history and culture in the curriculum to be taught these pupils. We estimate that approximately 60 percent of Teacher Corps programs include Negro history and culture in the curriculum. Among the 60 percent are the following:

Catholic University, Washington, D.C.  
 Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia  
 New York University, New York  
 Xavier University, New Orleans, Louisiana  
 Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
 University of Southern California, Los Angeles  
 Prairie View College, Prairie View, Texas

Those programs which have not offered a course in Negro history and culture were asked to amend their proposals to do so. We anticipate a very high percentage of participation in these courses during the coming year.

**U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION—BUREAU OF EDUCATION PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT: DIVISION OF PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION**

The Education Personnel Development Act authorized programs to train and retrain teachers, administrators, and support personnel (such as counselors and teachers aides) whose activities are in or directly concerned with the schools, elementary and secondary, plus post secondary vocational education. The training may be provided at all academic levels, pre-school through post-Ph. D. The B-2

program, specifically, is a State plan program directed toward the recruitment of newcomers into the teaching profession and the training of teacher aides. The possibilities for creating a better understanding of Negro history and culture by means of these EPDA programs is great. The principal ways are as follows:

1. Direct study by teachers and others of historical and other materials related to Negro history and culture. This activity is not necessarily limited to history programs or to disadvantaged youth programs, but could be a part of any or all programs.

2. Direct, personal contact and living experience with Negroes in their communities. Programs can be so organized as to facilitate or require that the teachers and other EPDA participants meet Negro parents, etc., attend Negro meetings, work in clubs, on playgrounds, etc., even live in their homes, as part of the orientation and training program.

3. Negro drama, or literature, or art, etc., can be features in special institutes, and could be incorporated to some extent in all programs.

4. As an incidental part of EPDA programs, teacher participants can create teaching materials related to Negro history and culture for use in demonstration classes and for later use in their own classes. (The EPDA does not permit making this a major emphasis.)

5. Promote (and train for) integration of school faculties by giving teacher participants an experience of working in integrated institutions and on integrated faculties.

6. Promote (and train for) integration of pupils by setting up demonstration classes in which the pupils are integrated (or all-Negro).

7. Provide "sensitivity training" to both non-Negroes and Negroes to improve inter-personal relations and mutual understanding.

8. Include in EPDA programs a wide variety of special features dealing with Negro history and culture: lectures, plays, art, music, visits, etc., irrespective of the nature of the EPDA program.

9. Sponsor on both a regional and national scale—through conferences, publications, etc., a greater emphasis on and interest in Negro history and culture.

10. Through revision of the EPDA guidelines and the establishment of corresponding priorities, encourage greater emphasis on any or all of the above activities in proposals which will be submitted to OE under EPDA in the future.

#### Appendix of examples:

##### NEGRO HISTORY/CULTURE

*The following Experienced Teacher Fellowship Programs contribute to a better understanding of Negro history and culture:*

Elementary Education—University of Missouri—(Russell Doll, Dir.)—  
Human Relations for the Inner City

Reading—Yeshiva University—This is for the teachers of the disadvantaged and deals with the study of man

History—Johns Hopkins University—Emphasis in American history program is on the Negro and the South

Social Studies—Hampton Institute, Virginia—A social studies institute in a Negro institution

*In the NDEA institutes the following deal with a variety of aspects of Negro life and culture:*

Arts and Humanities—University of Denver—Sociological and Anthropological concepts in teaching to develop worldmindedness and cultural diversity

Disadvantaged Youth—Antioch-Putney—Innercity Washington with focus on the Adams-Morgan area

Disadvantaged Youth—Ursuline College, Cleveland; Alverno College, Wisconsin—Both have strong emphasis on Civil Rights

History—San Fernando Valley College—Minority groups in U.S. History

Civics—Loretta Heights College, Denver, Colorado—Civics Problems and minority groups

Civics—University of Mississippi—Civil Liberties

Civics—Virginia State College—The Negro and the Political Process

Disadvantaged Youth—University of California at Santa Barbara—Repertory Workshop for Negro Drama

History—Spelman College, Georgia—Negro History

History—University of Illinois at Chicago Circle—Negro History  
 History—Fisk University, Tennessee—Negro History  
 History—University of Dayton, Ohio—Recent southern History  
 History—University of Southwestern Louisiana—The South in U.S. History

**U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION—BUREAU OF EDUCATION FOR THE HANDICAPPED**

**INTRODUCTION**

The Bureau of Education for the Handicapped is designed to organize and administer Federal research, training and service activities directed toward improving pre-school, elementary and secondary programs for children who are mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, crippled or other health impaired children, who by reason thereof require special education. Increasingly, as the Bureau's activities have developed and programs have expanded, there has been a growing awareness among the staff and throughout the field of special education that an accurate knowledge of the social conditions and heritages of ethnic groups must be developed in order to plan and implement appropriate educational programs for handicapped children.

The relationship between economic deprivation and educational performance is clear for most children. However, this relationship is far more striking among handicapped children. Thus the relevance of fostering a knowledge of Negro history and culture is extremely important for the educators and children, as well as for the nation as a whole.

The Bureau's programs which are related to the need for an understanding of Negro culture and history have been surveyed. A report on each pertinent program is presented in the following pages.

*Recommendations of the National Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children's Report*

The National Advisory Committee on Handicapped Children's Report "Special Education for Handicapped Children" developed three recommendations which are directly related to fostering an understanding of Negro history and culture. This first annual report from the Advisory Committee (a committee responsible for the review of the administration and operation of Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and other provisions of law administered by the Commissioner of Education with respect to handicapped children) made three recommendations on pages 2-3:

*Recommendation 8:* Research of handicapped children in inner city areas. The Bureau of Education for the Handicapped should encourage research for the purpose of identifying the number, variety, and severity of handicapping conditions existing in the child population of the inner city areas.

*Recommendation 9:* Educational programs for the handicapped in inner cities. The Bureau of Education for the Handicapped should encourage states and local communities to develop unique educational programs in inner city schools that will be adapted to conditions of intellectual, social, and emotional deprivation often found in inner cities.

*Recommendation 10:* Federal support for handicapped children in rural areas. Provision should be made for Federal financial assistance for the development of models or prototype demonstrations of services to rural handicapped children.

*Bureau implementation of these studies*

Growing out of these recommendations, the Bureau's Office of Program Planning and Evaluation has planned for two studies: (1) an evaluation of handicapped children in the inner city, and (2) a study of the need for educational manpower for handicapped children and youth. The first study, emphasizing the needs of handicapped children in an urban setting, draws upon the cultural achievement of black communities as well as other ethnic groups like the Puerto Rican and Mexican-American, to develop strategies for relating these communities to the educational system and special education. The Manpower Study will assess the need for special educators at the local and state levels, in colleges and universities, in urban and rural areas, and for differing cultural groups. As a result of these studies, the educator of handicapped children will develop a better sense of Negro culture and life which is invaluable for appropriate planning and programming.

*Detailed reports on research, training and service activities by individual programs*

The exposure of handicapped children to ideas and institutions occurs at the classroom level and depends on the skills and resources available to the teacher. Since the ethnic backgrounds of handicapped children are varied, an accurate sense of the world should be conveyed in the classroom. Thus, teachers must, through adequate research, training, and service activities, be aware of Negro history and culture in order to meet the diverse intellectual and social needs of handicapped children. Each of the major ongoing programs currently administered by BEH has submitted a program report surveying the impact of the particular program upon fostering and understanding of Negro history and culture.

**CAPTIONED FILMS FOR THE DEAF**

**I. Nature and Purpose of Program.**

As authorized by Public Law 85-905 and amended by Public Laws 87-715 and 89-258, the Captioned Films for the Deaf program has the following objectives:

A. To provide enriched educational and cultural experiences for deaf persons by means of a free loan service of acquired or specifically produced captioned films

B. To promote the educational advancement of deaf persons by—

1. carrying on research in the use of educational media for the deaf;
2. producing and distributing educational media for the deaf and for parents of deaf children and other persons who are directly involved in work for the advancement of the deaf or who are actual or potential employers of the deaf; and
3. training persons in the use of educational media for the instruction of the deaf.

II. Identify the ways your program (using specific projects if possible) contributed significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture.

We require multi-ethnic representation in all of our visual productions. Specifically, we have distributed to schools for the deaf throughout the United States two outstanding films which will aid in understanding contributions of the Negro. The firms are "Portrait of the Inner City" and "Portrait of the Inner City Schools."

III. Identify the ways that programs of your agency do not presently significantly contribute to understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture but which are potentially capable of such contributions without legislative amendment.

Programs of our agency do not significantly contribute to understanding and knowledge of the Negro—his history and culture. Since we are in the business of providing films primarily for deaf persons we have not concerned ourselves too much with the racial angle. Also, we usually caption already existing films which limits our choices. However, we recognize the value and the role films can play in promoting and recognizing contributions of the Negro.

We have talked with film producers about this and we are sure contributions of the Negro and an expression of his culture will be evident in future productions.

IV. Efforts your programs are making to ensure that Negro contributions to American life, both past and present, are reflected in information disseminated by your programs and in work of grantees supported by your programs.

An individual in the Office of Captioned Films has been appointed the special task of locating, retaining, evaluating and disseminating multi-ethnic materials, especially on the Negro.

At the present time four of our educational media centers are evaluating a multi-media kit on Negro History. Hopefully, the evaluation will result in the approval of materials on Negro History that we will distribute to schools in all fifty States.

**EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT FOR THE HANDICAPPED—PUBLIC LAW 88-164, AS AMENDED**

**I. Nature and Purpose of Program**

Support of research and related activities dealing with improvement of educational opportunities for handicapped children. Appropriate populations include

those who are mentally retarded, seriously emotionally disturbed, hearing impaired, visually impaired, speech impaired, and crippled or otherwise health impaired to the extent that they require special educational services to achieve optimum educational development.

**II. Identify the ways your program (using specific projects if possible) contributes significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture.**

This program bears no direct relationship to Negro history and culture. With our emphasis on handicapped populations many Negro children are included in study sample, but in almost all cases race is an inconsequential variable in the project design. Furthermore, very few of our projects have any specific emphasis on history or culture in the sense implied here. In short, the program is essentially uninvolved in questions bearing a specific relationship to Negro history and culture.

**DIVISION OF TRAINING PROGRAMS**

**I. Nature and Purpose of Program**

"To make appropriate and significant contributions to the total efforts of the professional community in developing an effective national pattern of training programs for personnel to assure the best educational practices to all the handicapped" is the central purpose of the Division of Training Programs. The Division administers Public Law 85-926, as amended, under which grants are made to colleges, universities and State education agencies for the preparation of professional personnel in the education of handicapped children. Traineeships and fellowships are awarded on the undergraduate (Jr. and Sr. Year only) and graduate level; summer programs and Special Study Institutes are funded, and program development grants are made.

**II. Identify the ways your program (using specific projects if possible) contributes significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture.**

Given the nature and purpose of the Division, we do not, in a direct way, function in a manner so as to create a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. Several of the programs which we do fund are at colleges which are predominantly Negro in enrollment, such as Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, Coppin State College in Baltimore, Maryland, and Grambling College in Grambling, Louisiana. Institutes dealing specifically with Negro problems, such as a recent one sponsored by the University of Florida entitled "Speech and Language Development of the Negro Child," have also been funded by the Division. Since a large percentage of handicapped children are from disadvantaged homes, the professionals being trained under P.L. 85-926 will very likely be serving a large number of Negro handicapped children and increasing concentration on methods of emphasizing Negro history and culture is being given.

**III. Identify the ways that programs of your agency do not presently significantly contribute to understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture, but which are potentially capable of such contributions without legislative amendment.**

The law administered by the Division has as its emphasis the training of personnel to teach the handicapped, regardless of race or color; it is not designed to contribute specifically to a better understanding of Negro history and culture and the further development of such a contribution seems unlikely under the present intent of the law.

**IV. Efforts your programs are making to ensure that Negro contributions to American life, both past and present, are reflected in information disseminated by your programs and in work of grantees supported by your programs.**

All contributions to the field of Special Education are included in information disseminated by the division, and as increasing emphasis is placed on ways of teaching Negro history and culture it will be included in information announcements of the division.

**REGIONAL INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS CENTERS**

**I. Nature and Purpose of Program**

Although an accurate estimate of the types and varieties of materials based upon an understanding of Negro culture and life distributed to teachers through

the centers is not possible to estimate at this time, materials are available to the centers.

**II. Identify the ways your program (using projects if possible) contributes significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture.**

The purpose of the IMC program for handicapped children is to stimulate innovation in special educational programs through providing teachers with an accurate knowledge of appropriate curriculums, teaching materials and equipment.

These centers will collect instructional materials and aids such as Braille books, test kits, and tapes and recording devices, evaluate their effectiveness, and make them available to local schools. The centers also will engage in research and development aimed at devising improved teaching materials for the handicapped. Institutes and workshops will be held at the centers to familiarize teachers with the use of special educational materials. Handicapped children and youth to be served by the centers will include the mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, crippled, speech-impaired, deaf, and visually handicapped.

**III. Identify the ways that programs of your agency do not presently significantly contribute to understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture, but which are potentially capable of such contributions without legislative amendment.**

There are a variety of ways of stimulating the awareness of the problems of handicapped Negro children—memos, consultations, meetings with representatives of the centers, and demands by teachers are vehicles for improving the services of the centers and providing needed materials on Negro culture history.

**IV. Efforts your programs are making to ensure that Negro contributions to American life, both past and present, are reflected in information disseminated by your programs and in work of grantees supported by your programs.**  
Same as III.

#### U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION—BUREAU OF RESEARCH

##### INTRODUCTION

Some Bureau of Research programs relate directly to the task of creating a better understanding of Negro history and culture. Others, while not appearing to be directly related, are helping to solve some of the problems that prevent better understanding. Thus, some additional projects are listed that are related to identification and development of Negro talent, to various problems in Negro education, to segregation and integration, and to attitudes and aspirations of Negro youth. The ERIC identification number is indicated for each project. "ED" numbers refer to completed projects, "ED" numbers to on-going projects.

The Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) information network and its regular publications assure a broad dissemination of research information to school administrators, teachers, students, researchers, professional organizations, and information specialists.

#### SUMMARIES OF SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS THAT HAVE HELPED TO CREATE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF NEGRO HISTORY AND CULTURE

##### THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY (ED 011 529)

The purpose of this curriculum bulletin is to provide an account of the Negro as a participant in the history of the United States, and to aid teachers in recognizing and responding to opportunities in the school curriculums for giving instruction about the contribution of minority groups to American life. It specifically deals with social and historical forces within the Negro community and their impact on national and world events, with an emphasis on the history of Negroes in New York city.

##### THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN THE FIELDS OF SCIENCE (ED 013 275)

This collection of resource material on American Negro scientists for use in elementary and secondary school curriculums is made up of brief biographies and descriptions of the work of twenty-one Negro inventors, biologists, chemists, and physicians. It is felt that making this little-known material available will increase

the knowledge about the Negro in the United States and thus improve race relations. An extensive bibliography on the American Negro is included.

**LEARNING LABORATORY TO TEACH BASIC SKILLS IN A CULTURALLY DEPRIVED AREA  
(EP 010 443)**

The Learning Laboratory, a project in a Negro area of Dade County, is set up to improve academic achievement and prepare students for vocational training or for employment. The Laboratory activities include a study of Negroes of renown such as Benjamin Banneker, Robert Smalls, Marian Anderson, Mary Bethune, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass. Stories of the lives of these people are the basis for lessons in vocabulary, reading, grammar, reasoning, discussion, history, intergroup relations, guidance, and also for further research.

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS PERTAINING TO RACE AND CULTURE  
IN AMERICAN LIFE (ED 010 029)**

This curriculum development project was conducted to adjust elementary instructional programs to include information and concepts about racial-cultural diversity in America, including the life of the American Negro. Its principal emphasis was on laying the groundwork for preparing instructional materials in the area of human relations.

**DEVELOPMENT OF MATERIALS FOR A ONE-YEAR COURSE IN AFRICAN MUSIC FOR THE  
GENERAL UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT (BR 6-1779)**

This project is designed to develop, test, and revise a course in African music especially for the general student in colleges and universities in the United States. It is expected to contribute to the general educational goal of increased awareness of a rapidly developing part of our world and to lead to better understanding of African peoples. It will reveal and emphasize the mutual influences and relations between the musics of Africa and those of America.

**BOOKS TO ENHANCE THE SELF IMAGE OF NEGRO CHILDREN (ED 011 904)**

This annotated bibliography lists works for children which present Negroes as positive central characters who show self-esteem, dignity, and self respect. Other criteria for a book's inclusion are the presence of nonstereotyped characters, speech patterns, or illustrations, and an attractive format.

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MATERIALS BY AND ABOUT NEGRO AMERICANS FOR YOUNG READERS  
(ED 015 091)**

An annotated list is presented of books and audio-visual materials recommended for teaching the contributions of Negroes to American life and the Negro heritage and traditions. Three librarians with extensive experience in work with Negro American literature compiled the bibliography.

**THE WORK OF REGIONAL EDUCATIONAL LABORATORIES**

The Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development (Berkeley, California) has recently published, as part of a series of handbooks, Afro-Americans in the Far West (106 pp.), by Jack D. Forbes, co-director of the Laboratory's communication program. To quote from the Preface: "It is good . . . that Americans of African ancestry are at last assuming their rightful place in the world of letters and that numerous research studies pertinent to African American affairs are now available." This handbook represents one effort at a synthesis of data relevant to the Afro-American in the western United States. After reviewing the West's Afro-American heritage, the handbook then gives suggestions for teachers and administrators "which will make the school truly belong to the people being served." The April 1968 issue of "Teaching and Learning Topics" from the Far West Laboratory summarizes for handy use the fourteen suggestions from the handbook for teachers and administrators. Another handbook, Education of the Culturally Different, introduces the reader to some of the general arguments which underlie the multicultural approach to education, and focuses on specific ethnic minorities. An extensive bibliography of materials dealing with Afro-Americans is also available for school personnel and classroom use.

The Center for Urban Education (New York City), besides its regular periodicals, *The Center Forum* and *The Urban Review*, publishes other books and materials relating to cultural and urban problems. "The Negro in Schoolroom Literature," by Minnie W. Koblitz, is one of these, and is an annotated bibliography of classroom reading materials that portray integrated situations. The bibliography is designed especially for use by elementary school teachers and librarians, and focuses on material for kindergarten through sixth grade. Single copies are available on request.

The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory proposes to develop and evaluate a multi-cultural social education program for children of diverse cultural backgrounds (Negro and Mexican-American grades one through eight). The procedures for accomplishing this purpose will be to: (1) develop, (2) field test, and (3) demonstrate instructional materials and teaching methodology which recognizes the backgrounds of these children.

#### SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS RELATED TO ATTITUDES AND ASPIRATIONS OF NEGRO YOUTH

Annotated Bibliography on School Racial Mix and the Self-Concept; Aspirations, Academic Achievement, and Interracial Attitudes and Behavior of Negro Children (ED 011 331)

Social Factors in Educational Achievement and Aspiration Among Negro Adolescents (ED 010 838)

Effects of Social Class and Level of Aspiration on Performance in a Structured Mother-Child Interaction Situation (ED 011 906)

Motivation and Aspiration in the Negro College (ED 010 537)

Some Impressions of Fair Harvard's Blacks (Reprinted in the "Harvard Journal of Negro Affairs," vol. 1, No. 2, 1965) (ED 011 330)

A Study of Certain Personality Correlates of Occupational Aspirations of Negro and White College Students (EP 010 274)

Relationship Between Self-Concepts of Negro Elementary School Children and Their Academic Achievement; Intelligence; Interests and Manifest Anxiety (ED 003 288)

#### SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS RELATED TO SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION

Quality Integrated Education (Ed 011 909)

Factors Contributing to Adjustment and Achievement in Racially Desegregated Schools (EP 010 824)

Desegregation and the Negro College in the South, and Persistence in College (Ed 010 603)

Equality of Educational Opportunity in the North (Ed 011 140)

The Effect of Segregation on the Aspirations of Negro Youth (Ed 011 332)

The Negro Student at Integrated Colleges (Ed 011 268)

Equality of Educational Opportunity (The Coleman Study) (Ed 012 275)

De Facto School Segregation (Ed 011 528)

Public School Segregation and Related Population Characteristics of Buffalo, New York (Ed 012 100)

#### SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS RELATED TO IDENTIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO TALENT

An Analysis of Selected Programs for the Training (Integrated) of Civil Rights and Community Leaders in the South (Ed 011 058)

A General Education Curriculum Revision Project—a Two-Year Program of Curriculum Development with Selected Predominantly Negro Colleges (EP 010 898)

Identification and Encouragement of Unusual Academic Talent Among Negro Underprivileged Populations (Ed 010 669)

Participants in the National Achievement Scholarship Program (NASP) for Negroes (The aim of NASP is to find the most able Negro youth and to help them financially to attend college.) (Ed 011 527)

The Impact on Learning and Retention of Specially Developed (Negro) History Materials for Culturally Deprived Children (Ed 010 004)

**The Long-Range Effects of a Language Stimulation Program Upon Negro Educationally Disadvantaged First Grade Children (EP 010 534)**

**SOME RESEARCH PROJECTS RELATED TO PROBLEMS IN NEGRO EDUCATION**

Communication Barriers to Culturally Deprived Negroes (Ed 010 052)  
 The Deep Structure of Nonstandard English of Negro Children in Washington, D.C. (Ed 010 875)  
 Language and Communication Problems in Southern Appalachia (Mountain and Negro Children) (Ed 012 026)  
 Reading Performance of Elementary Students in a Developing Institution (Ed 012 213)  
 Language Styles and Their Implications for Children's Cognitive Development (Ed 012 282)  
 Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Nonstandard English (Ed 010 688)  
 Stereotypes Regarding Disadvantaged Students (Ed 011 905)  
 Art Programs in Negro Colleges (Problem areas identified so that an increased number of Negroes might contribute to the visual arts.) (Ed 013 859)

**BUREAU OF ADULT, VOCATIONAL, AND LIBRARY PROGRAMS—COMMUNITY SERVICE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION**

**I. Nature and Purpose of Program**

The State Agency in Ohio has funded in FY 1968 a program entitled "Negro Culture: a course for teachers in the inner-city schools." Recognizing that the sustained trend toward urbanization has created a much higher percentage of educationally and culturally disadvantaged pupils in the Dayton School District, Wright State University, in cooperation with Antioch College, Central State University, and University of Dayton, and Wilberforce University, developed a program to assist 100 teachers in the inner-city schools in understanding a variety of factors relating to the problems of Negro schoolchildren. A 15-week trimester evening course was offered, which presented 15 major topics for lecture and discussion. They included: "The History of the American Negro," "Negro Culture-Strengths and Weaknesses," "The Negro and the Sociological Concept of the Family," and "The Nature of Prejudice." The program received \$3,724 in Federal support from Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965. This was matched with \$3,724 in non-Federal funds for a total program commitment of \$7,448.

Bradley University in Peoria, Illinois received Title I support in FY 1966 and 1967 for a program to provide training for present Negro leadership and to identify potential leaders. Included in the program content of the workshops offered were discussions of "the Negro in American culture, the Negro potential and the Negro intelligence, motivation and talent." Historical perspective was stressed. Controversial figures such as Booker T. Washington, Garvey, Du Bois, Martin Luther King, and Stokeley Carmichael were discussed in relation to the Peoria Negro community as well as the dominant power structure. \$3,000 in Federal funds and \$1,000 in non-Federal funds were committed to this program.

A Human Relations Resources Center was established by Lincoln University in Pennsylvania with a \$15,429 grant from Title I, HEA of 1965. The center was designed to promote understanding by teachers and community leaders of minority groups and their problems, and to upgrade Negro employment opportunities. The program of the Center included utilizing the wide resources of Lincoln University in the field of African history, art and ethnology to foster an appreciation of the culture of American Negroes. \$5,143 in non-federal funds contributed to a total program cost of \$20,572.

Brooklyn College in New York carried out a Community Service and Continuing education program designed to overcome resistance by minority groups to seek higher educational opportunities. The program concentrated on building an improved self-image among Negroes. Among the four courses offered was one on American History and Literature using Negro sources. The program received \$4,019 in Federal funds and \$1,648 in non-Federal funds for a total of \$5,667.

**II. Identify the ways your program (using specific projects if possible) contributes significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture**

In answer to question 2, the above programs should be regarded as examples of the kinds of activities that can be, and are being conducted under Title I of

the HEA of 1965. As this is a State grant program, the number of projects funded each year which contribute significantly to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture is dependent upon problem priorities set by individual State agencies for the expenditure of Title I funds.

BUREAU OF ADULT, VOCATIONAL, AND LIBRARY PROGRAMS—LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION

LIBRARY SERVICES AND CONSTRUCTION ACT

This legislation authorizes a broad program of Federal financial assistance to promote the development of public library services throughout the Nation. The amended act deals with all public library concerns: general public library services (Title I); public library construction and renovation (Title II); inter-library cooperation (Title III); State institutional library services (Title IV-A); and library services to the physically handicapped (Title IV-B).

Programs which have greatest potential in aiding the development of better understanding of Negro history and culture are the State programs under Title I of LSCA. (With reference to book purchasing, it should be pointed out, however, that the selection of library books—insofar as is consistent with the purposes of the act—is reserved to the States and their local sub-divisions).

Most Title I projects under LSCA are designed to provide better public library services to persons of all ages and socioeconomic levels, but beginning in Fiscal Year 1967, more programs focused on special services to the disadvantaged than in previous years. There is little doubt but that many of these projects included activities that stressed Negro culture and history and that funds were designated for the purchase of library books and library materials in this area. There are no statistics on the extent of these specific activities and purchases.

Many public libraries today—whether or not they are under an LSCA program—issue bibliographies or reading lists such as *Proud Heritage—The Negro in America*, issued by the Public Library of the District of Columbia, for the use of their reading publics or arrange special displays in their libraries of books on or about Negroes. In most cases, the State having large cities have been the leaders in including special projects geared to the needs of the disadvantaged in their State programs. A specific example under LSCA for improving library services to Negro users is provided by New York State which, in its Title I program, included a project to continue to develop and refine those activities centered in the Countee Cullen Branch of the New York Library which had been tested during the first years of the project and found to be most effective.

*Title II-A (College Library Resources) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.*—Federal grants totaling more than \$57 million have been made to institutions of higher education over the past three years under the title for the purchase of books and other library materials. Three types of grants—basic, supplemental and special purpose—are available to almost 2,000 institutions each year. Here, as with the Library Services and Construction Act, undoubtedly Federal funds have assisted in the purchase of library books and materials under the three types of Title II-A grants. Again, no statistics are available on the extent of these purchases.

The type of grant which shows significant potential in this area is the special purpose grant. Grants for special purpose include those to (a) help meet needs for quality in the educational resources of institutions; (b) meet national or regional needs; and (c) help combinations of institutions meet special needs in the establishing and strengthening of joint use materials. Priority in the awarding of special purpose grants is given to institutions that are members of combinations of colleges and universities that need special assistance in setting up and strengthening of joint use materials.

Lincoln University of Jefferson City, Missouri—in a cooperative arrangement with Northeast Missouri State College and the University of Missouri-Rolla—has received a Special Purpose, Type C grant for fiscal year 1968. Lincoln University agreed to be responsible to the cooperative for the development of a book collection by and about the Negro in the United States and Africa.

*Title II-B (Library Training) of the Higher Education Act of 1965.*—Title II-B of the HEA provides for Federal assistance for fellowships and for institutes for training in librarianship. The part of the overall program with implications for assisting in the development of Negro history and culture is the institute program. Although none of the institutes funded for fiscal year 1968, providing training opportunities for some 2,000 persons, are specifically focused on this

topic, there are three institutes (located in Arizona, Texas and Washington) on library services to the disadvantaged. We can assume that a portion of the time of this type of institute will be given to a consideration of books and materials on Negro history and culture and activities that will assist libraries to develop this topic.

BUREAU OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION—DIVISION OF STATE AGENCY COOPERATION

1. Programs which contribute significantly to a better understanding of Negro history and culture:

*ESEA Title II.*—Grants to States for acquisition of school library resources, textbooks, and other printed and published instructional materials for the use of children and teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools.

The Title II program is operated in each State according to an OE-approved State plan which must contain provisions for distributing programs funds on the basis of relative need. In Michigan, 35 percent of the State allotment is directed to innercity schools. In New York, the State plan is being revised to give the State Education Agency the responsibility for compiling and distributing lists of materials relating to ethnic groups.

Many Title II State plans provide for special purpose grants to local educational agencies. Examples of special purpose grants which contribute to a better understanding of Negro history and culture include:

*Maryland.*—High school students of St. Timothy's school in Baltimore participate in a tutorial program for disadvantaged pupils in the inner city. Under ESEA Title II, a special purpose grant provides materials on urban problems and education of the disadvantaged for the use of these students.

*Mississippi.*—High interest-simplified vocabulary books and periodicals, including multi-ethnic resource materials are available to pupils at Riverton Junior High School in Clarksdale to assist in improving reading skills. After-school and summer services are available.

*New York.*—In New York City, a multi-media library instructional materials center will emphasize materials for use by students of Puerto Rican and Negro background in grades kindergarten through 8. As a result of extensive planning involving public and nonpublic schools, this center will be able to serve the needs of 38,000 students in 45 schools. Materials will be carefully chosen to provide a student with accurate information on his background. The contributions made by Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the history and development of New York State will be a major subject concern of this collection of multi-media materials. A professional staff, including two librarians and an audiovisual specialist, will catalog and process all materials and will develop a special catalog of materials which contribute to understanding and human relations. Two full-sized classrooms will be converted to house this special collection. (Cost: \$60,000)

Also in New York City, an early childhood reading center has been developed to provide enrichment materials for use by children in grades 1 and 7 who are included in the district reading clinic program. This reading center serves students from 34 public and private schools. The books and audio-visual materials were chosen to strengthen the language arts program and encourage reading. The materials selected give emphasis to urban life and Negro and Puerto Rican heritage.

2. Programs which are potentially capable of contributing significantly to understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture without legislative amendment.

*NDEA Title III and NFAHA Section 12.*—Matching grants to States for public schools and loans to private schools to enable them to buy equipment and materials and do minor remodeling of laboratories and classrooms for the improvement of instruction in critical subjects, including science, mathematics, history, civics, geography, economics, modern foreign languages, English, reading, industrial arts, and the arts and humanities.

Under the auspices of OE-approved State plans, State education agencies make program funds available to local educational agencies for projects to improve their curriculums through the acquisition of equipment and materials, with the exception of textbooks. Inclusion of the social studies, arts and humanities enables local projects to focus on Negro history and culture. However, because of the State-administered nature of the program and the thousands of local projects

involved, States do not report to OE on an individual project basis. Therefore, although it is legally permissible, and likely, that some program funds are being or have been used to foster better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture, we cannot document such expenditures in terms of activities or cost.

*ESEA Title V*—Grants to States for strengthening the leadership resources of their State educational agencies, and for assisting those agencies in establishing and improving programs to identify and meet the educational needs of States.

Authority exists under both Section 503 (basic grants) and 505 (special project grants) of Title V for the development by State educational agencies of programs or activities to promote understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. Discretion is given to the States to determine the educational needs to which grant applications will be addressed.

The funds appropriated for Section 503 for fiscal year 1969 under the provisions of the Joint Resolution (90-355) have been obligated. In the event that a special purpose supplemental appropriation is made for Title V, it may be possible to stimulate States to undertake additional activities in the area of Negro history and culture.

Section 505 authorizes grants to State educational agencies to pay part of the cost of experimental projects for developing State leadership or establishing special services which may help to solve problems common to the State educational agencies of all or several States. Conceivably, a group of States could undertake a special project specifically to explore the problems of intercultural understanding.

At present under this authority, the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee are participating in the Regional Curriculum Project (A Study of Roles of State Departments of Education in Facilitating Desirable Change in the Educational Program for Children and Youth in Six Southeastern States.) Through the project, four school systems are serving as experimental locations to assist State department personnel in a study of their roles in helping schools accomplish their objectives. In Griffin, Georgia, and Asheboro, North Carolina, the experimental programs involve the humanities, combining a study of history, literature, art, and music with issues and ideas. In the Asheboro program, students in a predominantly Negro high school are focusing on minority groups through books, films, records, and other materials purchased with ESEA Title III funds. Consultative assistance from State agency personnel is supported by Section 505 project funds.

3. Effort being made to ensure that Negro contribution to American life is reflected in information disseminated by OE and in work of grantees: The selection of materials to be purchased with Federal program funds is the responsibility of State and local education agencies, a prerogative with which the Federal Government is strictly forbidden to interfere. Section 604 of Public Law 89-10 states:

"Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system, or over the selection of library resources, textbooks, or other printed or published instructional materials by any educational institution or school system."

In testifying before a House subcommittee in August 1966, Commissioner Howe said that legal clarification is needed of what the Federal Government can do to assure fair treatment of minority groups in textbooks. He stated: "Our efforts should be to encourage voluntary action by the States and localities."

Such encouragement is being provided by personnel in this Division through leadership in program development and in response to requests for information. Bibliographies of materials related to Negro history and culture are being developed and distributed as well as information concerning exemplary educational programs emphasizing intercultural contributions to American life. "Appraising and Meeting Special Counseling Needs" has been a primary concern of NDEA Title V-A program personnel. Staff members also are working cooperatively with organizations interested in promoting better understanding of Negro history and culture.

In addition, a study of elementary school libraries in inner cities has been undertaken as part of the effort to evaluate the impact of ESEA Title II. To date, nine schools in three cities have been surveyed with information collected as to the treatment of minority groups in textbooks and the appropriateness of instructional materials for use by Negro and Mexican-American students. A preliminary report is being developed of descriptive case studies of selected elemen-

tary school media centers in large cities. Based on this report, it is hoped that additional funds will be made available for the continuation of this activity.

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THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT,  
*Washington, D.C., September 11, 1968.*

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,

*Chairman, Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities,  
 U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in further reply to your request for information on present programs of this Department which create, or are potentially capable of creating, a better understanding of Negro history and culture.

This Department's program of grants for historic preservation has an obvious potential for contributing to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. The program was first authorized in the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. It empowers the Secretary of HUD to make up to 50 percent grants to States and local public bodies for the acquisition, restoration, or improvement of sites and structures of historic or architectural value in urban areas. Such local projects have to be consistent with the comprehensively planned development of the community in which they are located.

The program has attracted widespread interest throughout the Nation and a modest initial funding of \$1 million for fiscal year 1968 has proved inadequate to handle even the exceptional acquisition and restoration proposals. We expect 125 applications in fiscal year 1969 for grants totaling \$6.2 million. The Department is requesting \$1 million to fund 25 projects based on an average project cost of \$80,000 with the Federal grant averaging \$40,000. Thus far, no applications have been forwarded from our regional offices which relate specifically to Negro history and culture.

In addition to this program, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 authorizes several other HUD undertakings relating to historic preservation. Section 603 authorizes the Secretary to make grants in amounts up to \$90,000 per structure to the National Trust for Historic Preservation. These grants would cover the cost of restoring structures of historic or architectural value which the trust will then maintain for historic purposes. Thus far no appropriations have been obtained for this program.

Section 604 amends the section 701 Urban Planning Assistance Program to authorize the Secretary to make grants to assist cities, other municipalities, and counties in making surveys (in accordance with criteria comparable to those used by the Secretary of the Interior for the National Register) of structures and sites determined to be of historic or architectural value in order to identify such structures and sites, determine the cost of their rehabilitation and restoration, and provide related information. Such a grant, could be in an amount up to two-thirds of the cost of the survey involved. Sites and structures significant to Negro history or culture should, of course, be included in any such survey.

Finally, section 601 amends the Housing Act of 1949 to specify that an urban renewal plan shall provide information on proposed historic and architectural preservation activities; that the acquisition and restoration of real property within the urban renewal area to promote historic and architectural preservation may, where necessary for that purpose, be an urban renewal project activity; and that the relocation (within or outside a project area) and restoration of properties of historic or architectural value will also be eligible as urban renewal project activities.

In addition to administering programs specifically directed at historic preservation, HUD may make matching grants to public bodies to cover up to 50 percent of the costs of acquisition of Open Space Land for open space purposes. The use of open space to preserve or display an historic property is an acceptable use. Properties acquired under this program are eligible for development assistance (but not historic restoration), the amount of development grants being related to the cost of land acquisition. Certain structures may be acquired along with the land. Also, under the HUD Urban Beautification Program historic properties may be improved through paving, plantings, fencing, special lighting, etc. Such projects must be part of a community's comprehensive beautification plan.

All of these undertakings are carefully coordinated with similar activities in other Federal agencies. Public Law 89-665 established the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, of which the Secretary of HUD, along with other Depart-

ment heads, is a member. A major function of this Council is to recommend measures to coordinate Federal, State and local activities in the field of historic preservation. More specifically, section 605 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 provides that no grants for historic preservation may be made under HUD's urban renewal, urban planning, or open space and urban beautification programs after November 4, 1969 except for activities in accord with criteria which the Secretary establishes as comparable to those used in connection with the National Register which is maintained by the Secretary of the Interior.

While these relatively new programs of HUD have yet to make a major contribution in the better understanding of Negro history and culture, their potential for doing so is apparent. Cooperation with States, localities, and private groups, as well as coordination of the various Federal programs with the activities of the National Trust for Historic Preservation is necessary if truly significant contributions in this area are to be made. The legislative framework for such cooperation and coordination is already in existence with the establishment, by Public Law 89-665, of the Advisory Council for the Historic Preservation.

I share your strong interest and concern for this long neglected subject. If any further information is desired from this Department we would be happy to provide it.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT C. WEAVER.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
Washington, D.C., September 13, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: This is in response to your letter of July 11, 1968, regarding the establishment of a Commission on Negro History and Culture to conduct studies and recommend appropriate legislative enactments.

A review of programs administered by this Department shows one bureau with certain activities which are directed toward creating a better understanding of Negro history and culture. The work of the National Park Service on this subject can be related conveniently to units of the National Park System which directly or indirectly relate to Negro personages or movements which have been important in Negro history.

The units of the National Park System that relate directly to Negroes who have been of exceptional importance in our history are as follows:

Booker T. Washington National Monument, Virginia;

George Washington Carver National Monument, Missouri; and

Frederick Douglass Home as a part of the National Capital Park System.

The Booker T. Washington National Monument has a Superintendent and staff. There is a Visitor Center and exhibits telling the story of Booker T. Washington's life. The National Monument encompasses a part of the Virginia farm or plantation on which Booker T. Washington was born and where he lived as a small child. A development plan is now under study to recreate a type of living historical farm at the National Monument which will attempt to reproduce the scene, crops, and conditions that prevailed there during the period of Booker T. Washington's childhood.

The George Washington Carver National Monument has been developed with special reference to Carver's life there as a child and young man. There is a new Visitor Center with exhibits telling the story of Carver's life and his contribution in the field of agricultural science. Certain landmarks remain which he knew and are appropriately marked and identified.

The Frederick Douglass Home in Washington, D.C., is a recently established unit of the National Park System. Development is now in the research and planning stages. Historical research has been partially completed for restoration of the Home to its appearance of the time that Frederick Douglass lived here. Research on which the restoration of the grounds will be based is also in progress. The interest for the Frederick Douglass Home is the same as for other units of the System, where the purpose is to memorialize the lives of prominent persons and the movements for which they stood. When completed, the development of the

Frederick Douglass Home will attempt to tell the story of Douglass' life and his contributions to United States history and culture.

There are other areas in the National Park System which relate less directly, yet are very important, to Negro history. An example of this is Fort Davis National Historic Site in Texas. Elements of the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments, both Negro army units, served at Fort Davis and participated in the Indian Wars of the Southwest. Fort Davis has a new Visitor Center in which the part played by these Negro soldiers is identified and told.

It may also be said that indirectly all of the units of the National Park System relating to Abraham Lincoln and to the Civil War have some association with Negro history and culture. In most of these units there are Visitor Centers and exhibits which sometimes directly, and at other times indirectly, relate to Negro history and culture.

All units of the System have programs intended to provide public information. Nearly all have narrative and informative markers at sites where special events took place, exhibits in the Visitor Center, an audio visual program at the Visitor Center, and publications made available for visitors. In all of these, appropriate mention is made of Negro history and culture where it has significant bearing on the area in question.

Our review also indicates one bureau, Land Management, with a program which is potentially capable of contributing to an understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture without legislative amendment. This program, which is still in its infancy, is for protecting and interpreting archeological and historical sites of less than national significance. It can point out the role Negroes and other minority group members played in developing and settling the public lands, especially in the West.

Broadening our own myriad employee training programs and communication processes are other ways better understanding of Negro history and culture can be obtained.

I hope this information will be useful to the special Subcommittee. If I can assist you further, please contact me.

Sincerely yours,

STEWART L. UDALL,  
*Secretary of the Interior.*

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR,  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
*Washington, August 1, 1968.*

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
*Chairman, Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN PELL: This is in response to your letter of July 11, 1968 concerning questions raised by the Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities on Negro history and culture.

There are a number of activities currently being conducted by the Department of Labor which contribute to a better understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. The most significant of these are as follows:

Outreach Training Program: Funded by the Department of Labor and coordinated with the Urban League. The program consists of Outreach Training Institutes in 16 cities for one week of intensive training and 12 weeks of follow-up sessions. Those participating in the sessions are U.S. Employment Service staff, outreach workers, and staff from other community agencies who come in contact with the disadvantaged. The curriculum includes, *sensitivity training, Negro history, and Negro culture.*

Human Resources Development Institutes: Conducted by the United States Employment Service for staff working in HRD Centers. Some 40 such Institutes have trained about 1200 staff members. *Negro history and culture* topics included in agendas.

Human Resources Development In-service Training: Regular in-service training for local office employment service staff. The curriculum varies from state to state however, many states include *sensitivity training and Negro culture.*

Training in Manpower Services (TIMS): A summer recruitment program involving 1300 sub-professionals and 700 trained, entry level counselors to work in local employment service offices. Many of the 1300 sub-professionals

are selected from the disadvantaged group and are part of the New Careers program. *Negro culture, history, and contemporary problems* are taught. This problem is similar to earlier programs called CAUSE I and II.

Jobs in the Business Sector (JOBS) : Management, support personnel, and first-line supervisors in companies who are hiring the hardcore trainees receive special *sensitivity training* during their training seminars in order to better understand the *Negro and his culture*.

Opportunities Industrialization Center: There are presently 25 Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) in operation throughout the U.S. A major component of each OIC is the "feeder program" which is designed to provide general educational skills and basic knowledge of the world of work as well as a sense of dignity and self-esteem. Each feeder program has a *minority history* course which serves to convince the trainee that his *culture or subculture* has worth. The duration of the feeder phase of training is tailored to the needs of the individual and may last from 2 weeks to 3 months, with the average running about 2 to 4 weeks.

The OIC's are jointly funded by D/L, OEO, D/HEW with the D/L commitment approximately \$7 million annually. About two-thirds of all funds go to support the feeder program but it is not practicable to attempt to identify the portion devoted to the *minority history course*. Some 20,000 enrollees pass through the feeder program in a year.

There are a variety of materials prepared by the Department which describe contemporary achievements of Negroes. Some publications such as "Success" and "Guidebook to Great Careers in Employment Security For Men and Women" are designed to encourage Negroes to train for occupational fields formerly difficult for minority groups to enter.

Other publications are analytic in nature and present comparative studies of past and present status of the Negro in the community. Some titles are "Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the U.S.", "Graduates of Predominantly Negro Colleges", "Seminar on Manpower Policy and Program (Civil Rights In The Urban Crises)", "Occupational Outlook Quarterly—The Negro's Occupational Progress".

In addition, research has been done in the following areas which are somewhat related to the Subcommittee's questions:

The Negro and Equal Opportunities

Negro Participation in Apprenticeship Programs.

Conference on Education and Training of Racial Minorities.

Analysis of Minority Groups Employment.

Generic Bases of Negro Teenage Unemployment.

Copies of some of these materials are enclosed for your information. If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Sincerely,

WILLARD WIRTZ,  
Secretary of Labor.

Enclosures.<sup>1</sup>

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,  
Washington, D.C., August 27, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: This refers to your request of July 11, 1968, for information concerning activities of the Federal Communications Commission which are actually or potentially related to the dissemination of information concerning, and better understanding of, Negro history, culture and contributions to American life.

As you know, the FCC makes spectrum space available for and licenses and regulates the operation of radio and television broadcast stations. This is done within the framework of the Communications Act of 1934 under which discretion for the programming of broadcast stations is reposed in broadcast licensees—both commercial and noncommercial educational. The Commission, acting under a statutory requirement that it find that the public interest would be served as a precondition to the granting and renewal of broadcast licenses, requires broadcasters to demonstrate that they are attentive to the needs, interests and desires of all the public within their station's service areas.

<sup>1</sup> The enclosures may be found in the files of the subcommittee.

The broadcasters' duties thus run to significant minorities as well as to majority elements of their communities. In a recent Memorandum Opinion and Order and Notice of Proposed Rule Making (adopted July 3, 1968, Docket 18244, of which a copy is enclosed) the Commission not only announced a requirement that broadcast licensees avoid non-discriminatory employment practices but also, in paragraphs 21-27 of the enclosed document, stressed the importance of contributions which the broadcast industry is called up to make to better interracial understanding through broadcast programing. It was there emphasized that broadcasters, most importantly among the various mass media, can contribute significantly to better understanding of negro culture, thought and history and the difficulties and frustrations of negroes.

While recognizing that such programing decisions lay beyond the Commission's regulatory power, the Commission endorsed urgings in the recent Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, that more prominence be given to the participation of Negroes in news gathering and broadcasting as well as in other types of programing including documentaries, and entertainment, and in television advertising.

In 1965, when granting a one-year renewal of license for television Station WLBT at Jackson, Mississippi, the Commission, after reviewing its investigation of charges that this station had failed in its programing responsibilities to the Negro segment of the community, pointed out that ". . . this particular area is entering a critical period in race relations, and that the broadcast stations . . . can make a most worthwhile contribution to the resolution of problems arising in this respect. That contribution is needed now—and should not be put off for the future." Subsequently, after conducting a hearing ordered by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, the Commission on June 27, 1968 renewed the license for Station WLBT after noting marked improvement in the station's programing with respect to Negro participation and concluding on the preponderance of the evidence that Station WLBT had "afforded reasonable opportunity for the use of its facilities by the significant community groups [including Negroes] comprising its service area."

In a separate action taken in 1965 on applications for renewal of the licenses of two other Jackson, Mississippi stations (AM Station WSLI and TV Station WJTV), the Commission stressed that ". . . in discharging the obligation to make good faith efforts to ascertain the needs and interests of the area, and to serve those needs, consultation with community leaders is an important tool. The petitioners here are responsible community leaders, and their complaint that the applicant's programing does not meet the needs and interests of the substantial Negro community in Jackson is therefore entitled to serious consideration." Illustrating its requirement that broadcasters serve all significant elements of their communities, the Commission said: "A licensee's programing must be designed in good faith to serve his area. Thus, if a licensee had one rotating church program and never presented Negro churches even though they represented half the churches or population in the area, the obvious question is presented whether the licensee is seeking in good faith to serve his area's needs or simply following or acquiescing in a deliberate exclusionary pattern. The same consideration would be true in other programing areas. If, for example, a licensee never sought to ascertain or serve the needs of predominantly Negro colleges in his area—even though there were a large number of such colleges—the question is presented whether the licensee can be said to be 'equitably' and in good faith meeting his obligations under the public interest standard."

In practice many broadcasters have given increasing prominence to participation by Negroes in broadcast programming, and a number of stations—variously estimated at 70 to 90—now specialize fully in programming oriented to the needs and interests of the Negro community. The Commission itself does not maintain statistics, but the 1968 Broadcasting Year Book lists nearly 300 stations which purport to orient part or all of their programming to the Negro members of the community. This practice has been treated as lying within the discretion of station licensees provided they make the showing—required of all licensees—that their basic programming format has been developed on the basis of consultations with community leaders and representatives of the broadcast audience concerning the broadcast needs and interests of the population served.

For your convenience, I am enclosing copies of pertinent published data. This includes a list of the aural broadcast stations which purport to devote a portion or all of their programming to Negro oriented programming. Also enclosed is a copy of a special report on Negro-oriented broadcasting which appeared in the

November 7, 1966 issue of Broadcasting Magazine. It reflects the growing development of programming services oriented to the Negro needs.

The furthering of improved inter-racial relations, of course, calls upon non-Negro oriented stations, as well, to contribute to the widely recognized need of improved understanding between majority and minority elements in American society. Depiction, in broadcast programming, of the role and participation of Negroes in our society has recognized importance in this field.

The role of the Commission is limited, of course, by the fact that it lacks the power to lay down finite and categoric requirements as to the content of broadcast programming. There is, however, widespread evidence that both radio and television broadcasters and the national networks, are giving increasing attention to their duty to assist the cause of better interracial understanding in formulating their broadcast programming.

I hope this letter and the enclosed matter will provide you with the information you desire. Please let me know if you have other questions.

Sincerely yours,

ROSEL H. HYDE, *Chairman.*

Enclosures.

[From Broadcasting, Nov. 7, 1966]

#### RADIO A LEADING FORCE IN NEGRO PROGRESS—THE 21 MILLION WHO MAKE UP \$28 BILLION MARKET LIKE OWN STATIONS

In Washington last week a Negro disk jockey was on the air discussing with another DJ how a current contest was going. What made this conversation different was the nature of the contest.

It was to determine if the listeners wanted to vote in one of the station's white newsmen as an honorary Negro. Even with enough votes, the contest-running DJ pointed out, the newsmen would still have to face initiation: walking alone down Seventh street (the heart of one District of Columbia Negro district) on Friday night with a \$20 billion sticking out of his pocket. If the newsmen is able to make it to work Monday morning, the DJ added, "he's one of us."

The disk jockey also mentioned a coincidental poll to see if he could be voted an honorary white man. The poll wasn't going too well; there were six votes already in against him.

The contest and the light approach with which it was handled is, to a degree, symbolic of the revolution taking place in Negro-oriented radio. The DJ's were not afraid to name an area where odds against mugging would only be insured by Lloyds of London.

In another era, only a few years back, such a conversation on the air could have incurred the wrath of the upper-class Negroes with accompanying charges that the station was demeaning the Negro population. Negroes in some areas still find fault with stations who invite listeners to call in with grips and comments and then put them on the air.

#### BAD IMAGE?

These callers, the detractors claim, don't use proper English; they sound poor and uneducated, and don't make good window dressing for a station that is listened to by better-educated Negro.

But the philosophy of stations today is that they are aiming at a market and these callers are part of the market, perhaps even a bigger part than the better educated Negro.

Like the intellectual who calls for high-brow cultural programs on television and—for image sake—and refuses to admit that he enjoys *Gilligan's Island*, there is a growing group of Negroes in the middle and upper classes who look on the Negro-programmed radio station as an example of class distinction. One in Washington told Broadcasting he didn't know why anyone would listen to a Negro why anyone would listen to a Negro station for news when there is a CBS or NBC affiliate in town.

Yet it is hard to find stations of any format that try harder to serve the needs of the population they aim for. A classical music station may heavily promote the opera, reading club, literary society and Friday morning social tea and bagel brunch.

The top-40 station would shy away from these messages and aim its public service barrage at the school dances, area teen-age clubs and other youthful enterprise.

The middle-road station would carry a cross-section of these announcements and add a few others.

*But it is up to the Negro station to tell what's happening in the city's Negro districts, the Negro schools and among the Negro citizenry. And it is Negro stations that have gone all out to sell to their audiences the value of staying in school and not dropping out.*

*Negroes today are better informed than their predecessors have ever been. They know what's happening in the world, in the state, in the city and in their neighborhood. They are no longer just people "with a great sense of rhythm."*

#### RISE OF THE NEGRO ARTIST

For years music associated with Negroes was programmed on Negro stations only. It was and is basically a deep driving rhythm and blues sound. To many whites the Negro top 40 seemed derived from soundtracks of old Tarzan movies.

Then came the 1950's and the overnight emergence of rock 'n' roll as an art form. With this emergence came hundreds of Negro R&B practitioners to challenge white artists for a spot on the top-40 lists of general-audience stations.

Today there is not a great deal of difference between the music of a top-40 station and the tunes heard on a Negro outlet. There is some difference, of course. But the days when Frank Sinatra, Glenn Miller and Tommy Dorsey ruled the station play-list have long since faded over the horizon.

Simply rhyming moon, June, spoon and croon doesn't work any more.

Today's sound, which is the core of virtually every Negro station and most general top-40 operations, is the "soul sound." It comes close to being indefinable. Basically it is the old rhythm and blues, sometimes with a more pronounced beat. It is a form of music with depth.

Among the best known exponents of the soul sound are artists like James Brown and Ray Charles. In addition to the basic R&B, they often toss in a dash of gospel. It is mixed together with showmanship and the result is a sound.

Although a great many Negro stations will program white artists—on occasion—it is by no means a universal practice. The "blue-eyed soul", as the white artists are known, are not used everywhere. Tom Johnson, operations manager of KSOL San Francisco, points out that the basic R&B is a "great and tangible evidence of something which the Negroes as a race have created. They tend to be jealous and prejudicial toward any white artist who makes a poor imitation of this music."

However, the Negro stations note that the music that is their staple also finds a spot on the general audience top-40 stations. In *Billboard* magazine, 27 of the most popular R&B tunes were on the overall top 100 tune list. In other words *the Negro-oriented music more easily makes the transition to general stations than "white pop" does to Negro outlets.*

Some Negro stations, particularly in larger markets admit to playing to an ethnic audience while hoping, through the music primarily, to win away listeners from general rockers. To this end they are also very careful about the type of air talent they hire.

What they also stay away from, and this is perhaps even more true in northern markets is the "Uncle Tom" announcer, who sounds as though he just stepped out of a cotton patch and is waiting for the good steamboat Robert E. Lee to paddle by so he can dance a jig on the dock and pick up pennies thrown by condescending passengers. He represents a Negro era that has passed.

Where personalities are stressed on stations, the announcers can sometimes, not always, be identified as Negroes. In some cases, white DJ's who gain rapport with the Negro audience, move in.

#### NOT SEGREGATED

Negro-oriented radio in 1966 is format radio. *It is the top music, tightly programmed: it is news and community events aimed at the Negro; it is public service on a wholesale basis.*

Responses by Negro stations to a BROADCASTING survey show that 31% have white and Negro disk jockeys, 24% have white and Negro newsmen; 55% editorialize and of this number 89% have dealt with racial issues.

These stations become so deeply enmeshed in community activities and projects that the line separating public service and station promotion often becomes blurred. As in all cases of good public relations, the benefits to the stations are usually long-lasting and in the end result profitable.

A recent campaign for Rheingold beer used the phrase "we must be doing something right." The same could be said for many Negro stations. In the BROADCASTING survey there was not one fulltime Negro station that reported decreasing revenues in 1966.

For example: WGTV Charlotte, N.C., up 10% from 1965, up 32% since 1960; WLLE Raleigh, N.C., up 100% from 1965; WCIN Cincinnati, up 10% in the past year and up 25% from 1960; WWIN Baltimore, up 100% from 1965 and up 150% from 1960.

The Negro station, for the most part, may be looked upon by a large segment of the white population and even some Negroes as nothing but a lot of wild music with unintelligible lyrics. But in the Negro community, the image is different. *The stations are there to help the people. In many cases the stations serve as the ombudsman—the go-between linking bureaucracy and populace.*

One of the best-known examples of this community involvement is in Memphis at WDIA. In 1054 the station started what has since become the WDIA Goodwill Fund Inc. when it brought two buses to transport crippled Negro children to school. For several years after, WDIA was putting about \$3,000 to \$4,000 yearly in the fund to help Negroes.

Since then it has grown, says Bert Ferguson, executive vice president of the station. The fund now provides scholarships, backs baseball teams and has an income of about \$45,000 a year. The bulk of this comes from WDIA-sponsored stage shows with proceeds going to the fund.

Six years ago the fund provided the money needed to start children's homes which are used primarily by the juvenile court for wards of the court.

The most recent project was this summer when the fund turned up \$40,000 to help Memphis get its second Boys Club. The Phoenix Club of Memphis is taking care of the purchase of the building. And it is the Goodwill funds that are taking care of refurbishing the structure.

#### ACTIVE LEADERSHIP

In addition to producing the money, WDIA also used its airways to ask for volunteers to help renovate the building. The station limited the number of volunteers to 100 and within a few weeks they had, under adult supervision, overhauled the structure from stem to stern.

In Houston, KCOH drew 28,000 people in three days to an exposition and home show. The net proceeds of \$5,700 were given to the Baptist Ministerial Alliance, made up of 300 churches.

WEBB Baltimore sent its news director, Ernie Boston, on a two-week trip to Vietnam to interview area servicemen stationed there. Using its own facilities, television spots and Negro newspapers, the station heard from 400 area residents who had relatives in Vietnam.

In Philadelphia, WHAT played a major role in a fund-raising campaign for Dr. Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement which netted \$20,000.

These are typical of the role the Negro station plays in its community. It is more than just tossing on a record spouting a few, fast phrases, backed up with sound effects, news intros, jingles and the like.

Gospel music still plays an important role in the music mix of many of the stations. This seems to be more true in southern markets, where stations answering the Broadcasting survey indicate a greater percentage of their air time is given to this form of music than in other areas. Also a strong musical type among Negro stations is jazz, which has its roots in Negro tradition and history—not to mention Negro musicians.

The changing mood of the Negro, his philosophy, spending habits, education and income and his desire to upgrade himself have been factors in the programming policies of many stations.

Generically, the civil rights movement is often tabbed as the catalyst around this upgrading. What it has wrought is a more intensive approach on the part of stations to tighten up their operations, improve their news coverage, emphasize editorials and support the move toward equal recognition.

Typical of this breed of station is WVON in the Chicago market. The station editorializes 10 times a day and frequently on racial issues. Its weekly public service list contains over 600 messages. In addition there are programs for the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, among other Negro groups.

Another Chicago example is WAAF, which says news and public affairs now make up about 30% of its air time with an emphasis on local news and special events.

## HUGE MARKET

Today's Negro market is estimated by the U.S. Department of Commerce at \$27 billion with 20.9 million persons. There are predictions that by 1970 the Negro population will reach 25 million and the "Negro income will soar to an approximate volume of \$45 billion."

A mid-decade Census Bureau survey showed the average Negro family had 4.34 persons compared with 3.64 persons per white family. The Negro median family income was \$3,724 about 54% as large as the white median family income of \$6,858. The report also pointed to the educational gap between whites and Negroes. One of four Negroes had completed high school or had some college compared with less than one in two, among whites.

But census also pointed to figures that reflect recent advances in Negro educational attainment for persons under 35 years of age. Among Negro men, ages 25 to 34, the percentage who had not completed elementary school dropped from 30% in 1960 to 20% in 1965. The percentage drop for Negro women in that age group was from 22% to 11%.

For the same age group, the proportion having completed four years of high school or more increased 15% (to 45.3%) for men, and 10% (to 45.7%) for women.

Another recent study of the Negro market was made on the West Coast by KGFJ Los Angeles. The survey of Negro families in Los Angeles county produced the following figures: 69% of the men and 70% of the women had high school or better educations; average family income was \$6,495; 45% were home owners, with 33% of that number owning homes valued at \$25,000 or more.

The economic trends in the Negro market were spelled out by a government economist in 1964. Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, former assistant secretary for economic affairs of the Commerce Department, noted that during the 1950's the urban Negro family increased its spending for current consumption by 42%. "In the process," he said, "the distinguishing characteristics of the Negro market were blurred substantially." He found evidence of "rapidly emerging middle-class spending habits."

## PATTERN CHANGING

The figures, Dr. Brimmer said, show evidence of "upgrading" in consumption behavior and reflect "a gradual conversion toward the consuming behavior of white families." Following this trend, he went on, the future will see Negroes seeking to upgrade their standard of living.

"There should be a strong market," he felt, "for housing and household operation, automobiles, and medical and personal care. Those areas which have traditionally received a good share of the Negro's patronage—tobacco, clothing, alcoholic beverages and food—will probably be characterized by relatively slow growth."

Perhaps another example of upgrading is the self-critical look Negroes now take of themselves. This was borne out in a study this summer conducted in Philadelphia by E. John Bucci and Associates, political surveyors.

The report, commissioned by WDAS Philadelphia, asked Negroes, among other things, what are the most important problems facing them today. Housing and slums led the list with 37% naming them, jobs and poverty were cited by 28%, more education and better schools by 14%, equal rights by 12%, fighting and riots with whites by 7%.

"It is significant too," the report says, "that the Negroes are self-critical as they list disunity among Negroes and apathy of the Negroes as the next major problem." The respondents saw these problems as doing much to slow down the cause for civil rights.

Other problem areas were lack of recreation facilities, formation of teenage gangs and crime. The report noted that the problem areas were known by all Negroes and that the respondents were "speaking as Negroes—not as young male Negroes, or old female Negroes."

Another note of change is found in the shifting Negro population. In 1960, the Census Bureau placed the Negro U.S. population at 18,860,000, about 10.5% of the total population. In 1960 Negroes made up 54% of Washington's population, 35% in Baltimore, 29% in Detroit, 23% in Chicago, 37% in New Orleans, 42% in Richmond, Va.

## DENSITY STUDY

A projection of population density for 1965 and 1970 was recently turned out by the Center for Research in Marketing, Peekskill, N.Y. Examples of its esti-

mates put the Negro population of Washington at 63% in 1965 and said it would be 68% in 1970; for Richmond, 47% and 51%; Jacksonville, Fla., 44% and 47%; Detroit, 39% and 47%; Baltimore, 41% and 47%; St. Louis, 37% and 46%; New Orleans, 41% and 45%.

*Congressional Quarterly*, a Washington reporting service, said these increasing percentages in central cities would require "city administrations to give more emphasis and more help to the problems of the Negro community."

Within this ever-increasing population, marketing men are learning that there are specialized markets.

Three weeks ago in New York, Donald A. Wells, executive vice president of BBDO, told the National Association of Marketing Developers: "We're even beginning to understand that the Negro market is not just the Negro market—period. There are Negro women, Negro teens, Negro gourmets, Negro surfers, Negro garden lovers—these are the special markets within a general Negro market."

This then is the Negro market in the U.S. today. It is one of changing moods, all with the idea of upgrading. It is one of a better-educated, more affluent populace.

And while Negroes are moving into many areas, economically and socially, that have heretofore been the sacred grounds of whites, they find whites in a shifting mood also.

The Commerce Department has noted the classification "Negro colleges and universities" is regarded by some educators as misleading. It points to several Negro schools where the "racial balance has already shifted from Negro to white."

Where does the Negro market leave off and the general market begin? This is a question still to be answered.

#### DO THEY LISTEN? THE FIGURES SHOW THEY DO

Do Negroes really listen to Negro-programmed radio stations? Do any whites listen? In both cases the answer would appear to be yes. Pulse surveys of some metropolitan areas, covering both general and Negro-only audiences, show the stations with shares that range from average to mammoth.

The following are some typical figures, based on Pulse reports furnished to Broadcasting. The figures represent the combined share of audience for the Negro-programmed stations in that market. All the figures, unless otherwise noted, are Pulse shares of audience for 6 a.m. to midnight, Monday through Friday.

#### TYPICAL STUDIES

In a five-county Atlanta metro survey, two stations had a 23 share of audience. In a Negro-audience study covering the same territory, the same stations had a 72 share.

In Los Angeles, a Negro-audience study gave one station a 50 share of audience, Monday through Saturday. A Negro-audience study of the Norfolk-Portsmouth-Newport News-Hampton, Va., metro area produced an 83 share for two stations.

In the four-county Baltimore market, three stations had a 67 share in a Negro-audience study. A similar survey in Detroit showed two stations with a 75 share. In three Negro-audience studies of the New York metro market, covering five, seven and 17 counties, respectively, three stations produced aggregate shares of 63 in each study.

In a general audience, two-county Memphis survey, two stations had a 26 share. A general-audience survey of the Charlotte, N.C., metro area showed one station getting a 13 share. In the Jackson, Miss., general-audience survey of metro area, one station had a 36 share.

In a general survey of Washington, two stations had a 52 share. A general-audience survey of the eight-county Chicago metropolitan market, showed three stations with a 14 share.

#### ADVERTISER INTEREST IN NEGROES ZOOMS—RADIO INVESTMENT OF \$28 MILLION IS THREE TIMES THAT OF 1961

The Negro market in the U.S., virtually an "underground America" to most advertisers and agencies five years ago, is blossoming into a fertile frontier of the sixties and the seventies.

Negro America is on the march. And not only for its guaranteed rights under the Constitution. Negro U.S.A. is on the march upward in terms of population,

income, education, socio-economic status and equality of opportunity in many phases of living.

In short, Negro America is a growth market, largely untapped by the mass marketers of goods and services until recent years. It is a rapidly expanding market that holds out promise for continued growth in the years ahead as the gains of the 1960's are consolidated into the 1970's.

Negro U.S.A. has been here for a long time, to be sure. It has been here for almost 400 years. But its procession toward center stage of the American marketplace has been accelerated only in the past five years, galvanized to a large extent by the impetus of the civil rights movement.

#### IN THE SPOTLIGHT

The drive for human recognition has focused the attention of the world on the hopes and aspirations of 22 million citizens. The demonstrations and riots, the protests and the boycotts have been news on television and radio and in newspapers. And, in a more subtle fashion, they have demonstrated to advertisers and agencies that here is a massive, growing market that has been largely neglected.

But there have been other developments, too, that have lifted the Negro from "the underground." A check with advertisers, agencies and national representatives cited these factors as contributing to a heightened awareness of the Negro marketing revolution: The increasing buying power of this ethnic group, which has an estimated \$27 billion a year to spend for goods and services; the accent on segmented advertising to reach special markets, such as the Negro; the upsurge in the amount of research on this "one-tenth-of-a-nation" universe; the emergence of a Negro middle-class that is making contributions to all facets of life; and the steady concentration of Negroes in the urban areas of the U.S., projecting them as easy-to-reach targets for mass marketers.

Media specialists in the Negro area acknowledge that radio is the primary medium to reach this specialized sphere. The most authoritative estimates place expenditures on Negro radio this year at \$28 million, of which approximately \$10 million is national-regional and \$18 million is local. And the significance of this \$28-million investment is this: It is about three times as large as comparable expenditures in 1961. (Advertisers spend an estimated \$5 million in newspapers—two dailies and a large assortment of weeklies—and about \$8 million on Negro-oriented magazines, primarily in *Ebony*, according to several media sources.)

#### NUMBERS CLIMB

*One meaningful bench-mark of Negro radio's mushrooming popularity is this statistic: 20 years ago there were three full-time stations, while today there are more than 90 such outlets and several hundred that broadcast a proportion of their programming to the Negro community.* Apparently, there are astute broadcasters who have concluded that Negro radio must be doing something right.

An insight into the advertising pattern on Negro radio stations was provided in talks with agencies, advertisers and with Bernard Howard and Jack Davis, president and executive vice president, respectively, of Bernard Howard & Co., and with Robert Dore and Dr. John E. Allen, president and vice president for research, respectively, of Dore and Allen Inc. These two national representative companies are the acknowledged leaders in the Negro radio station field and make their headquarters in New York.

Both representative firms as well as advertising agencies and advertisers agree that Negro radio not only is the largest of media catering to this ethnic group but is the fastest-growing and has the ingredients for continued expansion. Once it was established that there was a distinct Negro market that could be reached effectively via advertising, they pointed out, research and experience showed that Negro radio can reach more people more efficiently than any other medium. This includes general radio and television, for mass-produced goods and services such as food, beverages, detergents and drugs.

A number of reasons are cited for the value to advertisers of Negro radio. Vis-a-vis other Negro media, it overshadows newspapers which have only two daily publications in this field as well as magazines, with *Ebony* considered the only truly national publication.

#### PREFER SPECIALIZED STATIONS

Special research by The Pulse supports the contention that in listening patterns, Negroes overwhelmingly prefer the Negro-appeal station rather than the

*general one.* Negroes tend to watch TV as much as the general household, according to the Opinion Research Corp., but the lack of identification with much TV programing and commercials casts some doubt on the effectiveness and efficiency of TV as an ad medium for this audience.

Though there is a paucity of motivational research in the Negro market, some evidence has been adduced that Negro radio produces results because the environment is identifiable to the listener.

Mr. Howard, who has been in Negro radio for 17 years and has run his representation company for eight years, offered this observation:

"When I first started in business, I had to beg for a schedule. Today in many of our major market stations we cannot accommodate certain advertisers in certain time periods. This is particularly true of cigarette, beer and soft drink accounts."

Mr. Howard is confident that "the surface has not been scratched." He predicts that, as in the general media, the bulk of the national-regional dollars will be allocated to the major markets which are benefiting from a swelling Negro population that is becoming more affluent, better educated and more sophisticated.

#### SAME ADVERTISERS

Advertisers on Negro radio, according to Mr. Howard, are virtually the same ones that run schedules on general-appeal stations. These include Colgate, Lever Brothers, the tobacco companies, Pharmaco, breweries, soft drink firms, Quaker Oats, Standard Brands, Procter & Gamble, Ford Motor Co. and a host of others.

Mr. Howard's colleague, Jack David, believes that it's the "personal empathy" engendered on a Negro-appeal station that produces audience and commercial results among listeners. The Negro station is the one they rely upon to provide the news in depth of events locally or those nationally or internationally that have meaning for Negroes. Mr. Davis is convinced that even a rhythm-and-blues music program has more meaning and more impact for a Negro if a person of the same race is host of the show.

Mr. Howard envisions continuing strides in Negro radio, particularly on the West Coast and Northeast and North Central areas of the U.S. The South is lagging behind the rest of the country, he reported, but noted that "even there, there has been improvement."

Howard operates offices in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

Mr. Dore, of Dore & Allen, commented that the Negro market is "structured to mass-consumed goods," and advertisers are discovering that through the use of Negro radio, they can reach more people for fewer dollars than in any other medium.

The Dore firm has offices in New York, Chicago and Atlanta, he said, to cover the geographical areas it regards as the most favorable for national spot business. The Atlanta office ranges throughout the South, covering such principal centers as Dallas and Nashville.

#### MORE ADVERTISERS INTERESTED

Mr. Dore's associate, Dr. Allen, has been busy in recent months making presentations to leading advertisers on the burgeoning importance of the Negro market. Mr. Dore predicts that within the next year "15 important products in the drug and food field" will be using Negro radio for the first time or will be returning to the medium after a hiatus.

The heart of Dore & Allen's presentations in recent months is tied to Brand Rating Index data which provide information on the product usage or brand preferences of various groups, including Negroes, with reference to national norms.

From this raw, nationally oriented form, Mr. Allen has prepared probability projections for the entire U.S. Negro community for all BRI categories. (See story, page 85). This information, according to Dore & Allen, can be useful to advertisers, guiding them on which products or brands could benefit from advertising support in Negro media.

In recent weeks, Dore & Allen has prepared reports for Gillette, Avon Products, Norcliff Laboratories, Colgate-Palmolive, Liggett & Myers, Consolidated Cigar, American Home Products, Ex-Lax Inc., Miles Laboratories, Bristol-Myers and Lever Brothers.

Advertisers and agencies involved with the Negro market affirm that solid gains have been made over the past five years and believe that a keener awareness of this market will develop. But they add there is room for improvement in terms of additional meaningful research; an upgrading of Negro radio programming and a consistent educational effort to persuade advertisers that the Negro can be reached efficiently and effectively through the use of specialized rather than general media.

A number of advertiser-agency officials stressed the urgent need to improve the quality of Negro radio programming. A timely reminder on this subject was sounded on Oct. 28 by Edward Bell, assistant to the director of advertising and sales promotion of the Atlantic Refining Co. before a meeting in New York of the National Association of Market Developers, a group of Negro advertising-marketing executives.

#### SELECTED BY NUMBERS

"I am concerned because there are some types of media which definitely are not uplifting," he declared. "Some people may love 'Mama Sadie' and 'Flip-Flop Sam from Honey Land,' but are we facing our responsibilities by promoting this type of sometimes damaging stereotype when we have other, more wholesome media choices?"

Mr. Bell conceded that media must be selected on the basis of the numbers of people reached but he cautioned against the use of media that may "in any way either offend or demean any man."

D. Parke Gibson, president of D. Parke Gibson Associates, New York, believes there is still a severe lack of knowledge among some advertisers as to what the Negro market represents for them. For example, he noted, there are some cities with 40% or more Negro population, and for some products, Negroes make up 65% of the market potential.

It behooves advertisers to pinpoint their commercial messages to this market to bolster or raise sales there, according to Mr. Gibson. He urges the selling of Negro radio as a concept through joint promotional efforts and a stronger improvement in the quality of Negro programming as means of luring more dollars into the medium.

Charles Sterling, assistant to the general sales manager of P. Lorillard Co., believes civil rights activities and the thrust toward market segmentation have been the principal factors in expanding Negro-oriented advertising, particularly radio. Its growth has been hampered, he said, by resistance to the use of this medium by certain product groups, which do not recognize the potential of this market. He cites pet food manufacturers as an example of nonadvertisers that could benefit from Negro-directed advertising, but believes growth will come in these areas once research is made generally available.

Clarence Holt, supervisor, market planning, ethnic market, for BBDO in New York, said that the Negro market is becoming more attractive to advertisers because they are realizing that his group is the largest-growing one in terms of population in central cities and is one with a steadily increasing buying power. As advertisers become persuaded that they cannot always reach the Negro with general advertising, he continued, investment in Negro radio will make additional advances. He indicated that Negro radio can reinforce its advertising base by improving its programming to appeal to an enlarging middle-class Negro population.

H. Naylor Fitzhugh, vice president and director, special markets department, Pepsi-Cola Co., New York, attributed a more wide-spread acceptance of the Negro market today because of this ethnic group's rising income. He called radio the prime medium for reaching this specialized audience and credited the interest in market segmentation as part of the reason for radio's success. He expressed the view that industry is using Negro radio in part to enhance its image in the Negro community but maintained there has not been sufficient investigation by advertisers into the worth of the Negro market to them.

#### STATIONS IDENTIFY WITH THEIR AUDIENCE—THAT'S HOW CHAMPIONS OF SPECIALIZED PROGRAMING DESCRIBE FORMAT

Currently in Washington the FCC has before it a hearing on the application of a Washington area group to gain a station now occupied by WUST, a Negro-oriented station, licensed to adjacent Bethesda, Md. WUST wants its license renewed and wants to keep programming to the Negro community.

Also in Washington, there are two groups filing for channel 14, now occupied by WOOK-TV, which has aimed much of its programming at Negroes.

These two cases have put the FCC on the spot. In effect, they are forcing the commission to determine if there is a need for ethnic programing.

To operators of Negro stations everywhere in the country there is a need: a need of a people to identify with something. But many of them, particularly those in tough competitive markets, are quick to point out that although the disk jockeys and newsmen may be Negro, the music is the type that many top-40 stations play. As a result, Jerry Jacob, general manager of WAMM Flint, Mich., pointed out, "we compete headon with the two other rockers in town for share of audience and billing."

He describes WAMM as having an "integrated modern sound." *With about 25% of air time devoted to news and public affairs, WAMM is heavy on local news and is in "constant communication" with key Negro news sources. The civil rights movement, he said, has resulted in beefed-up editorials, an equal-opportunity job feature and a campaign urging youngsters to stay in school.*

In St. Louis, Martin O'R. Browne, vice president and general manager of KATZ, feels the term "Negro radio" may have to be redefined. The KATZ operation "has knowledgeable, attractive, professional radio personnel who happen to be Negro, to program for anyone who cares to listen. There is no such thing as 'segregated radio.'"

#### HOW DIFFERENT

How is his programing different from that of a general station? Mr. Browne says it is basically in the music and in the news items that are of particular interest to the audience. "These are not necessarily civil rights items," he points out, "they are also those referring to social, political, religious events in the community. So far as news is concerned, *the Negro station must cover everything the general station does, plus. That is the basic difference.*"

One of the simplest definitions of just what the Negro market is, was offered by Neil K. Searles, general manager of WAWA-AM-FM in the Milwaukee market. His programing, he said, is "similar to programing to a suburban community, since the interests of the people are basically the same, yet somewhat separate from the parent city."

The accent on news and community events, is stressed by WENZ Richmond, Va. Ralph J. Baron, president and general manager of the station which went to 24-hour Negro format a year ago, notes that in addition to local stories, the AP wire "is rewritten by the news director to make sure every word used will be understood by the listener. Some news items are explained by the newsmen on the air."

In Norfolk, Va., R. P. Johnson, operations manager of WRAP, describes his format as a "total commitment" to the Negro audience. It is a mixture of top rhythm and blues tunes, four hours of gospel music, community news notes, and a 90-minute women's program featuring local fashion news and homemaker hints.

At WHIH Portsmouth, Va., Marvin L. Walberg, station manager, feels "you must have community involvement, you must be aware of Negro buying habits and tastes in music, news and what types of commercial approaches motivate the Negro." Although the station has not changed its general approach and still uses a top 40 R&B and gospel music mix, Mr. Walberg says, the civil rights movement "has made us more aware of quality broadcasting and quality newscasts."

#### MIXED FORMAT

Walter Conway, vice president of KDIA Oakland, Calif., describes his music programing as a mixture of R&B, jazz and gospel. In addition, he says, "a higher proportion of our news is concerned with civil rights and similar news most directly important to the Negro community, such as the antipoverty program, employment, etc. Also our public service is much more concerned with social and civic activities within the Negro community as well as national campaigns of medicare and social security requirements, etc."

*In the area of public affairs programing, Mr. Conway cites Profiles in Black, a series of 120 70-second vignettes devoted to achievements of American Negroes. He also notes that for the past five years KDIA, cooperating with the state, has been heavy on job placement announcements. Another yearly campaign, he adds, is the "very strong and successful anti drop-out campaign under the theme 'Play it cool—stay in school.'*"

In Washington, WOOK's public service programing features civil rights groups like the Urban League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. E. Carlton Myers, Jr., vice president and general manager, also notes the

success of *Checkpoint on Community Action*, a series heard several times a day in which Negro leaders speak out on community problems and services.

Fred Webb, vice president and general manager of WNOO Chattanooga, says his station has constantly been aware of community changes and these have been reflected in programing. The station has "a fulltime man visiting responsible individuals and/or organizations in the community," he says, "to learn from them first hand the needs and interests of this community."

He describes WNOO's most successful program as *The Mayor's Report*, a weekly session in which the mayor of Chattanooga goes on the air to answer questions mailed in by listeners.

#### LOCAL EMPHASIZED

In Pittsburgh, WAMO aims its news at the Negro audience by putting "less reliance" on wire services and emphasizing local happenings in Negro areas and phone interviews with Negro newsmakers. Leonard Walk, president and general manager, finds the station has devoted more time to news and public affairs programing since the civil rights movement has become prominent.

WVKO Columbus, Ohio, became a Negro-programed station in 1963 switching from a one-year attempt to be a profitable rock 'n' roll operation. Bert Charles, vice president and general manager, says the present format is "totally Negro appeal" with a music format of R&B, gospel and jazz. The news is aimed at full coverage of the civil rights movement, racial stories and stories concerning Negroes.

*The station's editorial policy, he adds, is to aim at regional and local problems affecting the Negro community.* Editorials are aired by management, the news director and women's director. Occasionally, Mr. Charles says, "our news personnel will editorialize giving their own opinions and labeling them as such."

At WSID-AM-FM Baltimore, the music, news and public service are chosen, says J. Herman Sitrick, general manager, to appeal to the overall Negro populace. "Not those with PhD's, nor the uneducated," he says, "but to that majority that represents the middle and upper-middle class among the Negroes. We try to run a station that will meet their desires and needs, and one of which they will be justifiably proud."

#### MODERN SOUND

The rhythm and blues programing, he goes on, is a "tightly formatted, modern sound, with air-personalities who sound as though they would be at home on any general market station in our town."

Judd Sparling, general manager of WAPX Montgomery, Ala., feels programing to an ethnic audience has to be "more specific" in content. "Entertainment values," he adds, "have to be more emphatic so the total sound appeals to the emotional as well as the intelligent needs of its listener." He describes the WAPX format as a "balance" of news, information, community interests, religious programs and music, R&B and jazz.

*The primary difference in a Negro station, according to Stuart Hepburn, president and general manager of KNOK-AM-FM Fort Worth, is in covering Negro community activities that would "ordinarily be overlooked by general media."* His format includes R&B and gospel music plus news of community activities carried in a manner "that the Negro listener depends on."

One of the station's annual promotions is awarding a \$500 scholarship to a high school senior. The KNOK Good-will Radio/Television Scholarship, open to Negro students in Fort Worth and Dallas is given on the basis of academic achievement, potential, financial need, and a desire and interest in becoming a professional member of the broadcast industry.

Although the basic music format for WLIB New York is R&B, gospel and jazz, Harry Novik, general manager, notes that the concept is "total programing." This includes all kinds of music, "even operatic and concert," he adds, to meet the tastes of a Negro audience that has diversified tastes.

All newscasts are prepared by the news department, he adds, with emphasis on items of interest to the Negro community.

#### SERVICE TO AUDIENCE

Among the station's public service programs are *The Editors Speak*, a Saturday morning staple for 13 years featuring a panel of Negro leaders interviewing public figures; *Community Opinions*, an open-mike show, *Business Opportunities*, a

weekly show prepared by the Interracial Council for Business Opportunities and aimed at Negroes who wish to enter their own business.

WTHB North Augusta, S.C., describes its most successful public service endeavor as the *WTHB Young People's Choir*. Reese J. Vaughn, general manager, reports the one-hour program is carried every Sunday and it "definitely aids in combating juvenile delinquency." The program, he adds, "is not commercial—but we cannot live by bread alone."

The results of editorials, news and discussions, are evident to James H. Mayes Jr., president of WSRC-AM-FM Durham, N.C. He says the station has "joined in" the civil rights movement "to a degree." The stations cover conventions, make time available for announcements of meetings in the area. Mr. Mayes notes, and in this way "we feel we are contributing to progress in our area."

He also finds that the stations are able to bring action through editorials and "we can see results happen when we make time available for discussions, etc."

WJMO Cleveland finds the Negro audience is more loyal than a general audience which goes from station to station. The stations' programing policies have changed as a result of the civil rights movement to a point where it "has better public affairs programs and tighter restrictions on commercial copy and our programing is of a better quality than in previous years," he adds.

A daily feature of WVOL Nashville, reports Bill Salmon, general manager, is *Job Mart*. This is a five-minute feature carried three times a day. Employers call the station with a list of job openings and persons desiring work let the station know their qualifications. Both groups' messages are carried on the series.

Hourly announcements of available jobs is also a feature on WOL-AM-FM Washington. William Sherard, operations manager, says the station was converted from a middle-road format to an R&B operation in 1965. Among the station's other public service programing are 12 weekly discussion programs of 15 to 30 minutes each with primarily local and some national participants. The groups represented on the programs include CORE, NAACP, departments of education, youth clubs.

In news coverage, he reports, a local slant is given to all national racial stories, through views of leading Negroes in the community.

KEZY Tyler, Tex., annually selects a Miss KEZY and two runners-up. This year the winners received \$4,800 in college and trade school scholarships, says W. L. Whitworth, general manager.

One way in which WAOK Atlanta has met the changing tastes in the Negro community has been through enlarging the news department. Zenas Sears, vice president, notes the station's newscasts are oriented to the Negro community by having about 70% of air copy prepared locally.

#### DIVERSE PROJECTS

Frank D. Ward, executive vice president of WWRL New York, says his station's basic concept has been "to seek out the needs of the community and to fill them." WWRL undertakes to do this not only on the air but off with projects as diverse as providing talent for stay-in-school rallies, sponsoring a Little League baseball team, putting on an annual dog show for teen-agers and maintaining an "Instant News" telephone line and also a "Sound-Off Line" that listeners may call and have their complaints—about irritations ranging from traffic problems to suspected dice games—recorded for possible use on WWRL newscasts.

The station schedules broadcasts of employment opportunities throughout the day—a feature that became so popular that it got a sponsor (R. J. Reynolds Tobacco) and has drawn letters of thanks from numerous employers who have used it, including National Cash Register Co., Hooker Chemical Corp., E. J. Korvette Inc., the M. Aron clothing manufacturing company and the White Tower restaurant chain.

#### STRONG BRAND LOYALTY BY NEGRO BUYERS

Armstrong tires is estimated to have a 1.5% share of the "white" market and 7.4% of the Negro market for tires. By a statistical probability projection, it can be shown that in a market with a 10% Negro population, 35.4% of the men naming Armstrong as a favored brand would be Negro.

Ballantine beer, with a strong position in the Negro market (6.8% share Negro as against 1.8% white), projects in a 20% Negro-populated market as being preferred by Negroes representing 48.6% out of the entire group that favors the brand.

Razor blades? The percentage of Negro men saying they use Gillette Blue Blades is 23.7 compared to 8.1 among male whites. In a 30% Negro population, the projection indicates that of the entire group using the product, 55.6% would be Negro.

These are comparison examples made available by Dore and Allen Inc., New York, a national representative company specializing in the Negro radio station field, on the basis of brand usage figures produced by Brand Rating Index that covers Negro-versus-white and other breaks for all its product and brand studies (more than 300 product categories and over 500 brands).

Under the direction of Dr. John E. Allen of the rep company, probability projections are made available to advertisers and their agencies and data is tailored for computer programing by showing probability profiles of the Negro community by region and market size.

Dore and Allen reports there are 73 markets in the country in which the Negro community can be reached daily by way of Negro-oriented media, and that in all but seven of these markets the Negro proportional population of the market is equal to or greater than the national average of Negro population (9.5% of total U.S. households and about 11.5% of adult men and women). According to the rep, there are 23 markets where the Negro population averages 10% of the total market population; 22 markets where the average is 20% and 23 markets where the average is 30%.

#### PEPSI SPONSORS JOB SHOW

Pepsi-Cola, through BBDO, New York, last week began a 10-week trial campaign on WLIR New York detailing specific jobs current in New York that are open to the Negro audience. The special "job opportunities" series are made up of one-minute programs, compiled and produced by the station and scheduled two a day, six days per week. There is no commercial copy other than an identification of the New York Pepsi bottler in the opening billboard and in the tag. According to WLIR, there has been strong initial reaction to the campaign devised by Pepsi as a means of strengthening its image in the Negro consumer market. The station said indications are that the 10-week trial run would be extended as a continuing campaign and possibly placed by Pepsi in other cities.

#### SUCCESS STORIES MANY AND VARIED

##### LOCAL ADVERTISERS AS WELL AS NATIONAL FIND NEGRO PROGRAMED STATIONS POTENT

Stations can talk about their virtues until they are blue in the face, but it is always what's in the cash register that pays the bills. In the case of WIGO Atlanta, business for the current year is up 17% over 1965.

As an example of the station's drawing ability, Bertram L. Weiland, general manager, points to a recent successful campaign by the Campus and Career shop. The store had described its monthly picture as "so-so." However, after going on the air with WIGO, the store finished up with a 21.4% increase for the month. The following month showed a jump of 23.6%. In one of the subsequent traditionally "real low periods," the sales went up "a fantastic 17%" over the corresponding period a year earlier, the store wrote.

It's never pleasant to lose an account even for a few days. But occasionally the reason behind the temporary cancellation more than makes up for the dollars and cents loss. Such is the case with one account on WENN Birmingham, Ala.

When a local automotive motor and transmission repair shop, Uncle Bob, moved to a new location he bought some spots on WENN. After three weeks the agency, Parker and Associates Inc., had to ask the station to cancel the schedule "because of something that the station did."

#### BUSINESS IS GOOD

Not only is Uncle Bob's shop loaded, the agency said, "but his lot is full and half of the used car lot down the street is packed with cars that he has had to put off for as much as a week because he can't handle as much business as has been coming in as a direct result of his advertising on WENN . . . We will definitely be back."

A combination community interest-merchandising campaign has been successful at WNRJ Newark, N.J. Annually the station conducts a choir contest sponsored

by Quaker Oats Co. All Negro church choirs in the New York metro area are recorded and played on the air with listeners voting for their favorite choir. The winning choir gets new robes and other prizes, with prizes for the runner-up choirs. WNJR calls it a "great success" for both station and sponsor.

Tieing sponsors to public service programing is also used by KCOH Houston, according to John C. Shedd, commercial manager. In cooperation with Greyhound Corp., the station recently sponsored a Negro small businessmen's seminar with most Negro businesses in the community and many white businessmen present.

Another combined venture is the Jax Job Opportunities Program. Sponsored by the Jackson Brewing Co. and Jax Beer Distributing in Houston, it makes the station a clearing house between prospective employers and employees. In three years, 65,000 telephone applications have been processed. This feature is run in cooperation with the state employment commission and area firms looking for personnel.

When Safeway needed help in finding new employes they turned to KDIA Oakland, Calif. A schedule of 14 spots produced 1,000 people the first day and 2,500 on the second day. The agency, Cancilla, Wren & Knapp, San Francisco, reported "interviewers were still interviewing at 12 midnight with people still waiting."

In Columbus, Ohio, a major department store went on WVKO and the following interoffice memo tells the story: "We have noticed a tremendous increase in the Negro business in our department since beginning radio spots. . . . Bill Moss, the disk jockey, has given this department a tremendous boost in a market that was almost nonexistent. . . ."

WYLD New Orleans had to temporarily lose a client when Lincoln Homes, a builder, found the station had the "ability to produce sales at a faster clip than we anticipated. . . . Our last weekend of spot announcements not only sold out our finished homes but every house under construction as well! We even took deposits for houses which are still only in the planning stages."

In New York Busch Jewelry Stores have been buying time on WLIB for 14 years. Now with 14 stores, half in Negro areas, the station and client created a 16-week promotion campaign to build traffic in the Negro neighborhood stores. Offering weekly and grand prizes, the promotion requires listeners to register in person at any of the stores. In the first week more than 2,400 registered and the pace has remained solid.

#### NEGRO

WCTA Andalusia, Ala., 3 hrs.  
 WATM Atmore, Ala., 4½ hrs.  
 WJLD Birmingham, Ala., 100%  
 WJLN (FM) Birmingham, Ala., 100%  
 WPRN Butler, Ala., 10 hrs.  
 WAGC Centre, Ala., ½ hr.  
 WULA Eufaula, Ala., 21 hrs.  
 WOWL Florence, Ala., 8 hrs.  
 WJBY Gadsden, Ala., 1 hr.  
 KWRW Guthrie, Ala., 6 hrs.  
 WEUP Huntsville, Ala., 100%  
 WJAM Marion, Ala., 15 hrs.  
 KGOK Mobile, Ala., 100%  
 WAFF Montgomery, Ala., 100%  
 WRMA Montgomery, Ala., 100%  
 WJHO Opelika, Ala., 12 hrs.  
 WHBB Selma, Ala., 10 hrs.  
 WTQX Selma, Ala., 24 hrs.  
 WEYY Talladega, Ala., 1 hr.  
 WNUZ Talladega, Ala., 10 hrs.  
 WJDB Thomasville, Ala., 8 hrs.  
 WTUG Tuscaloosa, Ala., 100 hrs.  
 WABT Tuskegee, Ala., 40 hrs.  
 KAMD Camden, Ark., 2 hrs.  
 KDDA Dumas, Ark., 14 hrs.  
 KBJT Fordyce, Ark., 2 hrs.  
 KFFA Helena, Ark., 10 hrs.  
 KAYA Little Rock, Ark., 8 hrs.  
 KOKY Little Rock, Ark., 100%

KCLA Pine Bluff, Ark., 2½ hrs.  
 KWRF Warren, Ark., 7½ hrs.  
 KTYM Inglewood, Calif., 5 hrs.  
 KDIA Oakland, Calif., 100%  
 KSOL San Francisco, 100%  
 KSLY San Luis Obispo, Calif., ½ hr.  
 KSNO Aspen, Colo., 10 hrs.  
 KDKO Littleton, Colo., 100%  
 WCNX Middletown, Conn., 1 hr.  
 WNLK Norwalk, Conn., 2 hrs.  
 WSTC Stamford, Conn., ½ hr.  
 WBRY Waterbury, Conn., 2 hrs.  
 WEHW Windsor, Conn., 9 hrs.  
 WOL Washington, 100%  
 WKMK Blountstown, Fla., 11 hrs.  
 WJSB Crestview, Fla., 2 hrs.  
 WDSP DeFuniak Springs, Fla., 18 hrs.  
 WDBF Delray, Fla., 8 hrs.  
 WRBD Fort Lauderdale, Fla., 100%  
 WIII Homestead, Fla., 8 hrs.  
 WCOF Immokalee, Fla., 1 hr.  
 WRHC Jacksonville, Fla., 150 hrs.  
 WAME Miami, 100%  
 WMBM Miami Beach, 24 hrs.  
 WWPF Palatka, Fla., 6 hrs.  
 WBOP Pensacola, Fla., 100%  
 WJOE Port St. Joe, Fla., 4 hrs.

WTRR Sanford, Fla., 7 hrs.  
 WTMT Tampa, Fla., 100%  
 WUSF(FM) Tampa, Fla.,  $\frac{1}{4}$  hr.  
 WAXE Vero Beach, Fla., 1 hr.  
 WPRV Wauchula, Fla.,  $\frac{1}{2}$  hr.  
 WOKB Winter Garden, Fla., 100%  
 WJAZ Albany, Ga., 3 hrs.  
 WCQS Alma, Ga., 7 hrs.  
 WDEC Americus, Ga., 12 hrs.  
 WRFC Athens, Ga., 7 hrs.  
 WAOK Atlanta, 100%  
 WIGO Atlanta, 100%  
 WMGR Bainbridge, Ga., 32 hrs.  
 WDYX Buford, Ga., 3 hrs.  
 WMOG Brunswick, Ga., 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  hrs.  
 WGIG Brunswick, Ga., 6 hrs.  
 WOKS Columbus, Ga., 100%  
 WTTI Dalton, Ga., 15 hrs.  
 WMLT Dublin, Ga., 15 hrs.  
 WUFF Eastman, Ga., 5 hrs.  
 WKIG Glennville, Ga., 5 hrs.  
 WHIE Griffin, Ga., 13 hrs.  
 WGML Hinesville, Ga., 3 hrs.  
 WLAG LaGrange, Ga. 6 hrs.  
 WTRF LaGrange, Ga., 8 hrs.  
 WPEH Louisville, Ga., 5 hrs.  
 WIBB Macon, Ga., 100%  
 WGSR Millen, Ga., 7 hrs.  
 WMNZ Montezuma, Ga., 14 hrs.  
 WCOH Newman, Ga., 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  hrs.  
 WIYN Rome, Ga., 1 hr.  
 WSNT Sandersville, Ga., 6 hrs.  
 WSGA Savannah, Ga., 2 hrs.  
 WSOK Savannah, Ga., 100%  
 WVLD Valdosto, Ga., 10 hrs.  
 WGRT Chicago, 100%  
 WSBC Chicago, 12 hrs.  
 WOPA Oak Park, Ill., 20 hrs.  
 WRVI Winnebago, Ill., 24 hrs.  
 WHON Centerville, Ind., 10 hrs.  
 WGEE Indianapolis, 45 hrs.  
 WIMS Michigan City, Ind., 1 hr.  
 WECI(FM) Richmond, Ind., 3 hrs.  
 KWDM(FM) Des Moines, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  hrs.  
 KXEL Waterloo, Iowa, 5 hrs.  
 KCLO Leavenworth, Kan., 2 hrs.  
 WKDZ Cadiz, Ky., 12 hrs.  
 WLBN Lebanon, Ky., 5 hrs.  
 WAXU Georgetown, Ky.; 1 hr.  
 WIXI Lancaster, Ky., 10 hrs.  
 WTTL Madisonville, Ky., 8 hrs.  
 WMIK Middlesboro, Ky., 4 hrs.  
 WANO Pineville, Ky., 2 hrs.  
 KTRY Bastrop, La., 6 hrs.  
 KVOB Bastrop, La., 7 hrs.  
 WXOK Baton Rouge, 100%  
 WIKC Bogalusa, La., 3 hrs.  
 KFNV Ferriday, La., 28 hrs.  
 WFPR Hammond, La., 3 hrs.  
 KLUV Hayesville, La., 12 hrs.  
 KVOL Lafayette, La., 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  hrs.  
 KAOK Lake Charles, La., 30 hrs.  
 KLPL Lake Providence, La., 14 hrs.  
 KDXI Mansfield, La., 9 hrs.  
 WBOK New Orleans, 100%  
 WYLD New Orleans, 163 hrs.  
 KCJJ Shreveport, La., 4 hrs.  
 KVPI Ville Platte, La., 7 hrs.  
 KUZN West Monroe, La., 10 hrs.  
 KMAR Winnesboro, La., 1 hr.  
 WANN Annapolis, Md., 100%  
 WEBB Baltimore, 100%  
 WSID Baltimore, 100%  
 WWIN Baltimore, 100%  
 WILD Boston, 100%  
 WJLB Detroit, 126 hrs.  
 WAMM Flint Mich., 100%  
 WCHB Inkster, Mich., 100%  
 WERX Wyoming, Mich., 3 hrs.  
 KUXL Golden Valley, Minn., 42 hrs.  
 WELZ Belzoni, Miss., 15 hrs.  
 WMGO Canton, Miss., 16 hrs.  
 WECP Carthage, Miss., 12 hrs.  
 WLBS Centreville, Miss., 32 hrs.  
 WDSK Cleveland, Miss., 14 hrs.  
 WGVM Greenville, Miss., 3 hrs.  
 WLEF Greenwood, Miss., 20 hrs.  
 WMDC Hazlehurst, Miss., 10 hrs.  
 WKRA Holly Springs, Miss., 24 hrs.  
 WCPC Houston, Miss., 9 hrs.  
 WNLA Indianola, Miss., 19 hrs.  
 WOKJ Jackson, Miss., 100%  
 WNAT Natchez, Miss., 4 hrs.  
 WKOZ Kosciusko, Miss., 9 hrs.  
 WESY Leland, Miss., 100%  
 WOKK Meridian, Miss., 6 hrs.  
 WQIC Meridian, Miss., 100%  
 WNAU New Albany, Miss., 3 hrs.  
 WKPO Prentiss, Miss., 7 hrs.  
 WHOC Philadelphia, Miss., 8 hrs.  
 WSAO Senatobia, Miss., 14 hrs.  
 WSSO Starkville, Miss., 12 hrs.  
 WVIM Vicksburg, Miss., 18 hrs.  
 WAZF Yazoo City, Miss., 8 hrs.  
 KFAL Fulton, Mo., 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  hrs.  
 KPRS Kansas City, Mo., 86 hrs.  
 KATZ St. Louis, 100%  
 WMID Atlantic City, 3 hrs.  
 WHBI (FM) Newark, N.J., 9 hrs.  
 WNJR Newark, N.J., 100%  
 WWBZ Vineland, N.J., 2 hrs.  
 WLIP New York, 100 hrs.  
 WWRC New York, 100%  
 WSOQ North Syracuse, N.Y. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  hrs.  
 WSAV Rochester, N.Y.,  $\frac{1}{4}$  hr.  
 WBLK (FM) Depew, N.Y., 110 hrs.  
 WGIV Charlotte, N.C., 137 hrs.  
 WSRC Durham, N.C., 100 hrs.  
 WBLA Elizabethtown, N.C., 20 hrs.  
 WFMO Fairmont, N.C., 5 hrs.  
 WFMC Goldsboro, N.C., 15 hrs.  
 WPXY Greenville, N.C., 19 hrs.  
 WIZS Henderson, N.C., 7 hrs.  
 WMAP Monroe, N.C., 4 hrs.  
 WDJS Mount Olive, N.C., 2 hrs.  
 WWDR Murfreesboro, N.C., 40 hrs.  
 WSHB Raeford, N.C., 15 hrs.  
 WLLE Raleigh, N.C., 100%  
 WRNC Raleigh, N.C., 60 hrs.  
 WCBT Roanoke Rapids, N.C., 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  hrs.  
 WCEC Rocky Mount, N.C., 10 hrs.  
 WRXO Roxboro, N.C., 1 hr.

WSAT Salisbury, N. C., 9½ hrs.  
 WBZB Selma, N. C., 1 hr.  
 WADA Shelby, N. C., 10 hrs.  
 WMMP Smithfield, N. C., 6 hrs.  
 WGAS South Gastonia, N. C., 20 hrs.  
 WCPS Tarboro, N. C., 8 hrs.  
 WADE Wadesboro, N. C., 12 hrs.  
 WLSE Wallace, N. C., 4 hrs.  
 WIAM Williamston, N. C., 11 hrs.  
 WAIR Winston-Salem, N. C., 50 hrs.  
 WCIN Cincinnati, 131 hrs.  
 WABQ Cleveland, 100%  
 WJMO Cleveland, 161 hrs.  
 WVKO Columbus, Ohio, 100%  
 WJEH Gallipolis, Ohio, 3 hrs.  
 KIOO (FM) Oklahoma City, 84 hrs.  
 WARO Canonsburg, Pa., 1 hr.  
 WKST New Castle, Pa., ½ hr.  
 WDAS Philadelphia, 100%  
 WHAT Philadelphia, 100%  
 WAMO Pittsburgh, 100%  
 WDOG Allendale, S. C., 2 hrs.  
 WAIM Anderson, S. C., 3 hrs.  
 WANS Anderson, S. C., 7 hrs.  
 WWBD Bamberg, S. C., 14 hrs.  
 WSIB Beaufort, S. C., 30 hrs.  
 WHPB Belton, S. C., 1 hr.  
 WBSC Bennettsville, S. C., 26 hrs.  
 WAGS Bishopville, S. C., 6 hrs.  
 WACA Camden, S. C., 11 hrs.  
 WOKE Charleston, S.C., 2½ hrs.  
 WPAL Charleston, S. C., 100%  
 WDAR Darlington, S. C., 30 hrs.  
 WYNN Florence, S. C., 100%  
 WFIS Fountain Inn, S. C., 12 hrs.  
 WINH Georgetown, S. C., 2 hrs.  
 WHYZ Greenville, S.C., 100%  
 WHSC Hartsville, S. C., 30 hrs.  
 WDKD Kingstree, S. C., 30 hrs.  
 WJOT Lake City, S. C., 2 hrs.  
 WAGL Lancaster, S. C., 6 hrs.  
 WLBG Laurens, S. C., 7 hrs.  
 WLSC Loris, S. C., 14 hrs.  
 WYMB Manning, S. C., 15 hrs.  
 WSSC Sumter, S. C., 18 hrs.  
 WBBR Travelers Rest, S. C., 12 hrs.  
 WAID Walterboro, S. C., 5 hrs.  
 WCKM Winnsboro, S. C., 24 hrs.  
 WSJW Woodruff, S. C., 4½ hrs.  
 WBOL Bolivar, Tenn., 2 hrs.  
 WNNO Chattanooga, 100%  
 WJZM Clarksville, Tenn., 15 hrs.  
 WKRM Columbia, Tenn., 2 hrs.  
 WKBL Covington, Tenn., 3 hrs.  
 WJAK Jackson, Tenn., 3 hrs.  
 WKXV Knoxville, Tenn., 15 hrs.  
 KWAM Memphis, 4 hrs.  
 WDIA Memphis, 100%  
 WLOK Memphis, 100%  
 WVOL Nashville, 100%  
 KRAY Amarillo, Tex., 27 hrs.  
 KVET Austin, Tex., 1 hr.  
 KJET Beaumont, Tex., 100%  
 KORA Bryan, Tex., 2 hrs.  
 KGAS Carthage, Tex., 5 hrs.  
 KNRO (FM) Conroe, Tex., 2 hrs.  
 KIVY Crockett, Tex., 10 hrs.  
 KULP El Campo, Tex., 3 hrs.  
 KNOK Forth Worth, Tex., 100%  
 KGBC Galveston, Tex., 7 hrs.  
 KCTI Gonzales, Tex., ½ hr.  
 KGVL Greenville, Tex., 2 hrs.  
 KHBR Hillsboro, Tex., 2 hrs.  
 KYOK Houston, 100%  
 KSAM Huntsville, Tex., 3½ hrs.  
 KTXJ Jasper, Tex., 6 hrs.  
 KOCA Kilgore, Tex., 12 hrs.  
 KLUE Longview, Tex., 16 hrs.  
 KSEL Lubbock, Tex., 6 hrs.  
 KDOX Marshall, Tex., 24 hrs.  
 KMHT Marshall, Tex., 21 hrs.  
 KBUS Mexia, Tex., 6 hrs.  
 KOYL Odessa, Tex., 1 hr.  
 KLVL Pasadena, Tex., 11 hrs.  
 KIUN Pecos, Tex., 12 hrs.  
 KAPE San Antonio, Tex., 100%  
 KMAC San Antonio, Tex., 7½ hrs.  
 KSST Sulphur Springs, Tex., 2 hrs.  
 KTAE Taylor, Tex., 10 hrs.  
 KZEY Tyler, Tex., 100%  
 WKDE Alta Vista, Va., 2 hrs.  
 WODI Brookneal, Va., 2 hrs.  
 WCFV Clifton Forge, Va., 10 hrs.  
 WFAX Falls Church, Va., 1½ hrs.  
 WFVA Fredericksburg, Va., ½ hr.  
 WDDY Gloucester, Va., 12 hrs.  
 WMNA Gretna, Va., 10 hrs.  
 WENZ Highland Springs, Va., 100%  
 WLES Lawrenceville, Va., 25 hrs.  
 WRAP Norfolk, Va., 100%  
 WANT Richmond, Va., 100%  
 WLEE Richmond, Va., 1 hr.  
 WKBA Roanoke, Va., 9 hrs.  
 WHLF (FM) South Boston, Va., 4½ hrs.  
 WKBA Vinton, Va., 9 hrs.  
 KRAB Seattle,, 1 hr.  
 WJLS Beckley, W. Va., 1 hr.  
 WAWA West Allis, Wis., 70 hrs.

Before the Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C.

FCC 68-702  
 18337

Docket No. 18244 RM-1144

In the matter of petition for rulemaking to require broadcast licensees to show  
 nondiscrimination in their employment practices

MEMORANDUM OPINION AND ORDER AND NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULEMAKING

Adopted July 3, 1968—Released July 5, 1968

By the Commission: Commissioner Wadsworth concurring in the result.

1. On April 24, 1967, the Office of Communications, the Board for Homeland Ministries and the Committee for Racial Justice Now of the United Church of Christ filed a petition seeking our adoption of the following broadcast rule:

No license shall be granted to any station which engages in discrimination in employment practices on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. Evidence of compliance with this section shall be furnished with each application for a license and annually during the term of each license upon prescribed forms.

2. Statements in support of or opposition to the petition were filed until July 14, 1967, and replies were filed until July 31, 1967. Comments were received from more than 35 groups and individuals, particularly religious, civil rights and community action groups. All but one of the comments supported the United Church petition, although minor changes were suggested by some parties.<sup>1</sup> The sole objection was filed by the National Association of Broadcasters. The comments of the NAB were sympathetic to the basic goals of the petition but expressed reservations with regard to the proposed rule's reporting procedures and enforcement powers. The NAB position is that the Commission has not been granted regulatory power over civil rights and that Congress had delegated this function to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

3. In view of the nature of the petition, we have consulted with the other Federal agencies with specific responsibilities in this area—and particularly the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) and the Department of Justice. Such consultation, while consuming a considerable portion of time, has afforded us helpful insight. We refer here especially to the views of the Department, attached as Appendix A, Letter of Assistant Attorney General Stephen J. Pollak, dated May 21, 1968. With this as background, we turn to the legal and policy issues raised by the petition.

4. *Legal and related policy considerations.*—There is a national policy against discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, sex or nationality. This is particularly embodied in Section VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which makes it unlawful for employers in an industry affecting interstate commerce who employ at least 25 persons (until July 2, 1968 the applicable minimum number of employees was 50) to discriminate because of "race, color, religion, sex or national origin" in the hiring, discharging or training of employees, in fixing their terms and conditions of employment, including compensation privileges, classification and in other respects. The EEOC, created as an independent agency of the Federal Government, is responsible, among other things, for receiving complaints from persons aggrieved by an alleged unlawful discriminatory practice, notifying respondent employers, investigating the facts, permitting initial opportunity for resolution of the matter by any state or local authority empowered to act under a State statute making such discriminatory practice unlawful and, failing that, to determine whether there is "reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true" and to "endeavor to eliminate any such alleged unlawful employment practice by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion." Absent written consent of both parties, none of the foregoing proceedings may be made public.<sup>2</sup> Section 703 of the Civil Rights Act is also pertinent to our consideration of the pending rule making petition. It provides, in part, that an employer is not required to give preferential treatment on account of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of an individual or group because of a disparity between the number of percentage of such persons on his employment rolls and the total number or per-

<sup>1</sup> A shift from requiring filing reports to giving the Commission the power to request them was the primary suggestion.

<sup>2</sup> EEOC is not empowered to enforce employer compliance, although it has proposed amendment of the Civil Rights Act to authorize it to issue cease and desist orders. The Act provides that if the Commission has been unable to secure voluntary compliance by the employer, it shall so notify the aggrieved person, who may bring a civil action for injunctive or affirmative relief in the United States District Court where the practice occurred, where pertinent employment records are kept, where the plaintiff would have worked except for the discriminatory practice or in some cases where the employer has his principal office. The Attorney General of the United States may intervene in such judicial proceedings or, where a pattern of employer resistance is found, may initiate judicial enforcement proceedings.

centage of such persons in any community, state section or other area, or in the available work force in any community.<sup>3</sup>

5. A significant number of broadcast licensees come within the non-discriminatory requirements of the Civil Rights Act. All with 25, or more employees who have been employed full time or on a regular (non-seasonal) part time basis for each working day in each of 20 or more calendar weeks of the current or preceding year are subject to the non-discriminatory employment requirements of the Civil Rights Act. On the basis of data compiled by the broadcast industry and summary employment figures reported in annual financial reports to the Commission, we estimate that 80 to 90% of the TV stations and 10% of the radio broadcast stations come within the non-discriminatory employment requirements of the Civil Rights Act administered by EEOC.<sup>4</sup>

6. In addition to Federal requirements, employment discrimination on the grounds of race, color, religion, and national origin is unlawful under the statutes of over 30 States and ordinances of several major cities. In all but a few instances, designated State agencies are empowered to grant relief from prohibited discriminatory practices or seek it through civil or criminal proceedings. In most cases the minimum number of employees bringing an employer within such State statutes is smaller than the level of 25 applicable under the Civil Rights Act after July 2, 1968. Many range between 2 and 8. Under the Civil Rights Act, opportunity must initially be afforded for resolution of apparent Federal violations by State or local authorities having local jurisdiction. Federal legislation thus supplements, and does not supersede corresponding State and local law. In practice numerous cases are referred by EEOC to such non-Federal authorities. The aggregate number of broadcast stations outside EEOC's jurisdiction who come within State statutes or local ordinances is not known. It seems likely, however, that it would include most television stations and a substantial number of radio broadcast stations.

7. With the foregoing as background, we turn to the essential legal and related questions raised by the petition. The Commission can grant an application for a broadcast authorization only after finding that the "public interest, convenience and necessity" would be served thereby. See, e.g., Sections 307(a), (d) and 309(a) of the Communications Act, 47 U.S.C. 307(a), (d), and 309(a). In making this determination the Commission may consider whether an applicant has violated the laws of the United States, *F.C.C. v. American Broadcasting Co.*, 347 U.S. 190, 222, 224. See also *Report on Establishment of Uniform Policy in Connection with Violations by an Applicant of Laws of the United States*, 1 Pike & Fischer, Radio Regulation, Part Three, 91:32 (Uniform Policy). Indeed, it would appear that the Commission has the duty to do so. See, *Southern Steamship Co. v. N.L.R.B.*, 316 U.S. 31 (objectives of mutiny acts must be considered); *City of Pittsburgh v. Federal Power Commission*, 237 F. 2d 741 (C.A.D.C.) (policies of antitrust laws must be considered in making "public convenience and necessity" determinations). It follows that the Commission should take into account allegations raising substantial questions whether the applicant has violated, or is in violation of, the

<sup>3</sup> Federal contractors and subcontractors and recipients of Federal financial assistance involving construction contracts are, except for exempted classes, subject to the requirement under Executive Order 11246, as amended, that pertinent contracts include undertakings that the party will not discriminate against any employee because of race, creed, color, religion, sex or national origin. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor and contracting Federal agencies are responsible for compliance with Executive Order 11246. Compliance is sought initially by conference, conciliation, mediation or persuasion. Pre-award compliance reviews are conducted in the field in the case of larger contracts, compliance reports tailored to particular employers and situations are required of contractors, complaints are investigated, and provision is made for notice and opportunity for hearing on violations. Unlike the general case of employers coming within the Civil Rights Act, sanctions against offending contractors under Executive Order 11246 can be administratively applied by the withholding, suspension or termination of the Federal contract or assistance program and by listing the offender as ineligible for further contracts unless and until the offending situation is remedied. Additionally, enforcement action can be initiated by the Department of Justice.

<sup>4</sup> An unascertained portion of the AM licensees whose auxiliary Emergency Broadcasting System facilities have been financed through Federal assistance are subject to non-discriminatory employment undertakings set out in their contracts with contracting authorities in the Department of Defense (some Army and some Navy). The precise number so covered is not centrally ascertainable, as the contractual provisions are negotiated in individual cases by field offices of the Department according to their findings on the facts of each case as to whether exemptions apply. It is probable, however, that because some of the larger EBS stations come under the Civil Rights Act as well as Executive Order 11246, and also because not all contracts with EBS participants contain provisions relating to non-discrimination employment practices, the EBS program does not substantially increase the number of radio broadcast stations subject to Federal prohibition of discrimination in their employment practices.

Civil Rights Act or a pertinent State law in this field. If a violation has been established, this clearly raises a question as to the applicant's qualifications to be a broadcast licensee—a matter which under our established practice, would be evaluated, on the facts of each case. See *Uniform Policy, supra*.

8. More important, even where no violation of a specific statute is established or alleged, specific allegations may raise serious public interest issues warranting a full hearing. See *Uniform policy*, para. 15 at 91:499; *National Broadcasting Co. v. United States*, 319 U.S. 190; *Mansfield Journal Co. v. F.C.C.*, 180 F. 2d 28 (C.A.D.C.). This point is of crucial importance, and has two facets, with an underlying common thread—that broadcasting is a mass media form federally licensed to serve the public interest.

9. The first facet may be simply stated. There is the aforementioned national policy against discrimination in hiring. And here we note that this is a national policy. The 25-employee prescription in the Civil Rights Act does not limit that national policy, and specifically, "Title VII was not intended to circumscribe the authority of Federal agencies other than the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to regulate employment practices." See letter of Assistant Attorney-General Pollak, App. A., pp. 2-3. Second, there is the consideration that broadcasting is an important mass media form which, because it makes use of the airwaves belonging to the public, must obtain a federal license under a public interest standard and must operate in the public interest in order to obtain periodic renewals of that license. When these two considerations are taken together—the national policy against discrimination and the nature of broadcasting—we simply do not see how the Commission could make the public interest finding as to a broadcast applicant who is deliberately pursuing or preparing to pursue a policy of discrimination—of violating the national policy. In this respect—a mass media service to the public which is based entirely on a federal license under a public interest standard—the situation clearly parallels the Federal policy in contract awards. We stress that our holding is limited to the broadcast field of federal licensing—the specific area raised by the petition before us.<sup>5</sup>

10. There is a second and related approach to support the proposition that allegations of discriminatory hiring practices go to the heart of operation in the public interest, and call for careful Commission scrutiny, whether or not a violation of Federal or State law may be involved. As stated, the broadcast licensee is a "public trustee" (*Television Corp. of Michigan v. F.C.C.*, 244 F. 2d 730, 733-34 (C.A.D.C.); *McIntire v. William Penn Broadcasting Co.*, 151 F. 2d 597 (C.A. 3), cert. den. 327 U.S. 779), who ". . . seeks and is granted the free and exclusive use of a limited and valuable part of the public domain; where he accepts that franchise it is burdened by enforceable public obligations." (*United Church of Christ v. F.C.C.*, 359 F. 2d 994, 1003 (C.A.D.C.). One of the most important such obligations is to ascertain the needs and interests of his public to be served (*Henry v. F.C.C.*, 302 F. 2d 191 (C.A.D.C.), cert. den., 371 U.S. 821) and to ". . . reasonably attempt to meet all such needs and interests on an equitable basis" (*Report and Statement on Policy Re: Commission's En Banc Programming Inquiry*, 25 Fed. Reg. 7291, 7295. In passing on a specific complaint in this area, the Commission stated:

". . . The applicant urges that it has never regarded Jackson as two communities, one white and one Negro; that rather it has designed its programming so as to be of interest to the entire area. There is no requirement that a licensee divide his programming so that, in Jackson for example, 55% would be of interest to the white community and 45% to the Negro, any more than there is a requirement that each minority group (e.g., Irish, Jewish, Polish, etc.) be afforded a specified portion of a Chicago TV station's time, proportionate to the group's percentage of the total Chicago population. Such a pattern of operation would be 'broadcast segregation.' Further, it would be based upon the false premise that network or local programming of general interest does not serve the needs and interests of the Negro or some other minority group.

"But the applicant is incorrect in its assertion that the foregoing consideration is dispositive of the petitioner's contentions. A licensee's programming must be designed in good faith to serve his area. Thus, if a licensee had one rotating church program and never presented Negro churches even though they represented half the churches or population in the area, the obvious question is presented whether the licensee is seeking good faith to serve his area's needs or

<sup>5</sup> Thus, we are not extending the above holding to an area such as safety and special services. We note that the *Uniform Policy* may well have different applicability in an area such as safety and special services, where radio is used as an adjunct to some industrial or safety purpose.

simply following or acquiescing in a deliberate exclusionary pattern. The same consideration would be true in other programming areas. If, for example, a licensee never sought to ascertain or serve the needs of predominantly Negro colleges in his area—even though there were a large number of such colleges—the question is presented whether the licensee can be said to be 'equitably' and in good faith meeting his obligations under the public interest standard. See *Report and Statement On Policy Re: Commission's En Banc Programming Inquiry*, 20 Pike & Fischer, R.R. 1901." (*In re Applications of Capitol Broadcasting Co.*, 38 FCC 1135, 1139).

11. The same question is raised when a substantial charge is made that a licensee is deliberately discriminatory in his employment policies. A refusal to hire Negroes or persons of any race or religion clearly raises a question of whether the licensee is making a good faith effort to serve his entire public. Thus, it immediately raises the question of whether he is consulting in good faith with Negro community leaders concerning programming to serve the area's needs and interests. Indeed, the very fact of discriminatory hiring policies may effectively cut the licensee off from success in such efforts. We do not say that the one charge encompasses the other but rather that it constitutes clear cause for exploration by the Commission in the form of a more searching scrutiny of the application in this important respect, with the possible requirement of submission of a detailed showing or an evidentiary hearing.

12. In connection with these policy considerations, we note the following statement of Department of Justice (Appendix A, p. 4) :

"Because of the enormous impact which television and radio have upon American life, the employment practices of the broadcasting industry have an importance greater than that suggested by the number of its employees. The provision of equal opportunity in employment in that industry could therefore contribute significantly toward reducing and ending discrimination in other industries. For these reasons I consider adoption of the proposed rule, or one embodying the same principles, a positive step which your Commission appears to have ample authority to take."

13. We conclude that a petition or complaint raising substantial issues of fact concerning discrimination in employment practices calls for full exploration by the Commission before the grant of the broadcast application before it. This is so whether or not the proposed rule were to be adopted. For, while adoption of our policy in rule form would invoke cease and desist procedures and forefeitures under Sections 312, 503 of the Act, the matter is of such a serious nature as to call into question the basic grant of operating authority. See Sections 307(a), 307(d), 309, 312(a), 47 U.S.C., 307(a), 307(d), 309, 312(a). Furthermore, the issue is one which would in almost all cases where a substantial showing is made, require a hearing for its resolution. Therefore, viewed simply from the aspect of a rule embodying the specific policy (but see pars. 14, 17 for other related considerations), the adoption of a rule would not appear to contribute greatly to the more effective and proper dispatch of the Commission's business (Section 4(j) of the Communications Act). Compare *U.S. v. Storer Broadcasting Co.*, 351 U.S. 290. Rather, we shall follow the policies delineated here and in our prior decisions, and shall process petitions or complaints directed to alleged violations of those policies. In view of the considerations set forth above, such petitions are most appropriately directed to an application for a construction permit or renewal of license. We appreciate, however, that a complainant with grounds to believe that there has been discrimination would be most likely to file the complaint promptly, and we will therefore entertain such complaints whenever filed. Specifically, where appropriate, they will be investigated (and/or referred to the appropriate agency) prior to the process of the renewal.

14. Securing evidence of compliance with our policy in each renewal application would essentially be a matter of revision of the renewal application form. But while compliance with the policy is a *sine qua non* for renewal, we question whether submission of a showing in this respect by every licensee is any more required than, for example, a showing that the licensee has complied with the fairness policy, also a *sine qua non* for renewal. Here, as in "fairness", we believe that what is critically called for is the careful examination of petitions or complaints raising substantial questions. In this connection, we should note that purely statistical information would not raise a substantial question of discrimination in particular cases, by itself, and we would not ordinarily feel justified in instituting proceedings solely on such a basis. The Commission's staff and resources

are too limited.<sup>6</sup> However, we shall keep open this matter of requiring evidence of compliance, and specifically call for comments thereon in the notice of proposed rulemaking (see II, *infra*).

15. We shall proceed in the following manner:

(i) If a complaint raising a substantial issue of discrimination is received against a station with 25 or more employees, thus making the Civil Rights Act applicable, the Commission will refer the complaint to the EEOC, and will thereafter maintain appropriate liaison with that agency and the Department of Justice.<sup>7</sup> Insofar as this aspect of the matter is concerned, action of a major application would await resolution of the referral; if the results of the liaison indicate that there is a substantial issue, the application will be designated for hearing.

(ii) In the case of complaints pressed against stations which, while not covered by the Civil Rights Act, do come within state or local fair employment laws, the referral by the Commission would be to the appropriate state, or local authority; and the same procedure as outlined above would be followed.

(iii) Where substantial complaints are lodged against stations which, due to the small number of their personnel or the absence of state legislation, fall under neither federal nor state civil rights provisions, the Commission itself will act upon these complaints in accord with the above stated policy.

As to (i) and (ii) above, we wish to make clear that the referral will be of the employment discrimination aspect only. Scrutiny of any possible discrimination in licensee programming efforts would, of course, remain the responsibility of the Commission, and, where appropriate, the Commission would proceed immediately with its consideration and resolution of that facet of the matter.

16. We believe that by proceeding in this manner we can both husband our own limited resources, bring into play the expert agencies which are expressly charged with responsibilities in this area, and "avoid duplication of effort and any unnecessary burden upon broadcast licensees" (p. 4, letter of Assistant Attorney General Pollak). As a further matter, we do not anticipate any unmanageable workload since we would expect that broadcast licensees—as public trustees—will generally comply with this established national policy. If that judgment should prove incorrect and an unexpectedly burdensome workload result, we shall look to Congress for additional funds to carry out these responsibilities, and, in the absence of such funds, may have to take other appropriate action.

II. NOTICE OF PROPOSED RULE MAKING

17. There is one aspect of the matter which does appear to warrant issuance of a notice of proposed rule making. We note that employers (including broadcast licensees) covered by the Civil Rights Act are required to post notices in their employment offices informing the applicant of the equal employment laws and of his right to contact the EEOC if he feels he has been the victim of discrimination. Since the national policy is fully applicable to broadcasting for the reasons stated, it appears that a similar notice would serve a useful purpose in case of those licensees not covered by the Civil Rights Act. Such notice could be posted in a prominent place in the employment office. Further, as to all broadcast licensees, we raise the question whether a similar notice should be placed in bold type on the employment application, in order to inform the prospective employee in this way also that discrimination is prohibited and that any person with grounds to believe that he or she has been discriminated against, should notify the Federal Communications Commission. To adopt such notice requirements, and to be in position to enforce them through Section 312(b) and Section 503 proceedings, calls for a rule. We therefore propose such a rule and request comments whether the proposed rule would serve the public interest. We stress that the proposed rule does not, of course, delay the application of the policy set

<sup>6</sup> Such information would be of interest on an overall basis and should be collected. We understand that EEOC obtains annual racial "profile" data, not as an enforcement tool, but primarily as a fund of statistical information and indication of major problem areas. We believe that we should have such a "profile" of the broadcast industry, and will therefore request that a copy of E.E.O. Form No. 1 be transmitted to the Commission with the renewal form; we will also explore the desirability of obtaining identical information from broadcast licensees not subject to the EEOC reporting requirement. This would give us complete data as to this important medium, and might be useful in individual cases.

<sup>7</sup> We shall also, as requested, refer to the Department of Justice in any case in which there is reasonable cause to believe that a licensee is engaged in a pattern or practice of discrimination (Appendix A, p. 5).

forth in Part I. As stated, we also request comments on whether the basic policy should be embodied in a rule and a showing of compliance with the rule (e.g., the specifics of the licensee's equal opportunity program) should be submitted with the application for a construction permit, the assignee's or transferee's application and the application for renewal. Thus, the Petition for rule making filed on April 24, 1967 is granted.

18. Authority for the proposed rule is contained in Section 4(i), 303, 307 and 309 of the Communications Act of 1934.

19. All interested persons are invited to file written comments on the rule amendment proposed above on or before September 9, 1968, and reply comments on or before October 9, 1968. In reaching its decision in this matter, the Commission may also take into account any other relevant information before it, in addition to the comments invited by this notice.

20. In accordance with the provisions of Section 1.419 of the Commission's rules and regulations, an original and 17 copies of all comments, replies, pleadings, briefs, or other documents filed in this proceeding shall be furnished the Commission.

### III

21. We do not believe it appropriate to stop with the above. For, it is not just a matter of compliance with the national policy—of avoiding discriminatory practices when applicants come before the licensee. We believe that much more is called for, and that we would be derelict in our responsibility to "promote the larger and more effective use of radio" (Section 303(g)), were we to stop with the above point. Therefore, while the foregoing covers the "enforceable public obligations" (*United Church of Christ v. F.C.C.*, *supra*), we wish to bring to the licensee's attention a further and more important responsibility in this employment area—one of conscience.<sup>8</sup>

22. The nation is confronted with a serious racial crisis. It is acknowledged that the media cannot solve that crisis, but on all sides it has been emphasized that the media can contribute greatly in many significant respects, particularly to understanding by white and black of the nature of the crisis and the possible remedial actions, and that such understanding is a vital first and continuing step. See *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, p. 210. Thus, the Report states that the media—

"... have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery, and hopelessness of living in the ghetto. They have not communicated to whites a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being a Negro in the United States. They have not shown understanding or appreciation of—and thus have not communicated—a sense of Negro culture, thought or history."

And, in our judgment, the Report makes clear that of all the media, broadcasting is the most important in this respect because it is most turned to by the ghetto. See Report, pp. 207-208.

23. If the broadcast media is to fully meet this obligation to *communicate* in the highest sense of that abused term, the Report makes clear what is only common sense in this situation—that there must be greater use of the Negro in journalism, since the Negro journalist provides a most effective link with the ghetto:

"News organizations must employ enough Negroes in positions of significant responsibility to establish an effective link to Negro actions and ideas and to meet legitimate employment expectations. Tokenism—the hiring of one Negro reporter, or even two or three—is no longer enough. Negro reporters are essential, but so are Negro editors, writers and commentators. Newspaper and television policies are, generally speaking, not set by reporters. Editorial decisions about which stories to cover and which to use are made by editors. Yet, very few Negroes in this country are involved in making these decisions, because very few, if any, supervisory editorial jobs are held by Negroes. We urge the news media to do everything possible to train and promote their Negro reporters to positions where those who are qualified can contribute to and have an effect on policy decisions.

It is not enough, though, as many editors have pointed out to the Commission to search for Negro journalists. Journalism is not very popular as a career for aspiring young Negroes. The starting pay is comparatively low and it is a business

<sup>8</sup>This discussion in Point III does not deal with questions of the licensee's obligations in the area of fairness and of ascertaining and serving the needs and interests of his public. See pars. 10-12, *supra*.

which has, until recently, discouraged and rejected them. The recruitment of Negro reporters must extend beyond established journalists, or those who have already formed ambitions along these lines. It must become a commitment to seek out young Negro men and women, inspire them to become—and then train them as—journalists. Training programs should be started at high schools and intensified at colleges. Summer vacation and part-time editorial jobs, coupled with offers of permanent employment, can awaken career plans."

24. Thus, we stress that simply to comply with the requirements of the national policy—to say, "We can't find qualified Negroes"—is not enough. What is called for is a commitment going beyond the letter of the policy and attuned to its spirit and the demands of the times. That, we believe, is the most important and urgent message of this document—and not the holding in Part I.

25. The same considerations are applicable to the case of the Negro in specific programming. This is not a matter on which this Commission can appropriately intervene. The judgment as to whether to use one performer or another or a particular script approach in a particular program is wisely one beyond the jurisdiction of this Commission. Rather, all we do is again raise the question in context of the conscience of the broadcaster at this juncture of our national affairs. We call his attention specifically to the following portion of the Report (p. 212) :

"Finally, the news media must publish newspapers and produce programs that recognize the existence and activities of the Negro, both as a Negro and as part of the community. It would be a contribution of inestimable importance to race relations in the United States simply to treat ordinary news about Negroes as news of other groups is now treated.

. . . Television should develop programming which integrates Negroes into all aspects of televised presentations. Television is such a visible medium that some constructive steps are easy and obvious. While some of these steps are being taken, they are still largely neglected. For example, Negro reporters and performers should appear more frequently—and at prime time—in news broadcasts, on weather shows, in documentaries, and in advertisements. Some effort already has been made to use Negroes in television commercials. Any initial surprise at seeing a Negro selling a sponsor's product will eventually fade into routine acceptance, an attitude that white society must ultimately develop toward all Negroes.

In addition to news-related programming, we think that Negroes should appear more frequently in dramatic and comedy series. Moreover, networks and local stations should present plays and other programs whose subjects are rooted in the ghetto and its problems."

26. We stress that we are not condemning the broadcast media for past actions or neglect. It is fruitless to focus on the past. Nor are we implying that broadcasters and others are not primarily engaged in meeting the challenge set out in the Report. We recognize that many are and have already made notable contributions. The thrust of our message is that the nation requires a maximum effort in this vital undertaking and to call upon all broadcasters to make as great a contribution as they can. We stand ready fully to cooperate, as appropriate, in industry endeavors to achieve this important goal.

27. A copy of this document and a copy of the full text of Chapter 15 of the *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* will be mailed to the licensee of every broadcast station.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,  
BEN F. WAPLE, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,  
Washington, D.C., May 21, 1968.

Hon. ROSEL H. HYDE,  
Chairman, Federal Communications Commission,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Please refer to the request of your General Counsel for our views as to the legal authority for, and the desirability of, the rule proposed by the United Church of Christ, which seeks to prohibit discrimination based upon race, color, religion, or national origin in employment practices by broadcast licenses (RM-114). We will discuss the question of authority first, and will then address ourselves to the policy considerations.

1. The powers of the Commission under the Federal Communications Act (47 U.S.C. 151 *et seq.*) to grant, continue, and renew broadcast licenses are of course based upon its determination of what serves the "public convenience, interest, or necessity" (47 U.S.C. 309(a), (307)). The Commission also has broad authority to perform any act, conduct any investigation, make any rule, and issue and enforce any order necessary to effectuate the provisions of the Act (§§ 154(i), 303(r), (403)).

Because a broadcast license permits the licensee to make use of the airwaves, the grant or renewal of a broadcast license in effect confers upon a private person or corporation an exclusive right to enjoy the use of a part of the public domain. Accordingly, it has become well-established that a broadcast licensee is a "trustee" for the public and that the Commission may refuse to renew his license if he has failed to act in the public interest. *Television Corp. of Michigan v. FCC*, 294 F. 2d 730, 733-34 (D.C. Cir., 1961); *McIntire v. Wm. Penn Broadcasting Co.*, 151 F. 2d 597, 599 (3rd Cir., 1945), cert. den., 327 U.S. 779 (1946). For the same reason the Commission may examine the character of a licensee and deny or revoke his license if he is deceitful or untrustworthy. *FCC v. WOKO*, 329 U.S. 223 (1946); *Office of Communication of United Church of Christ v. FCC*, 359 F. 2d 994, 1003 (D.C. Cir., 1966).

Judicial decisions also make it clear that the statutory criteria of public interest, convenience, and necessity leave wide discretion, *FCC v. RCA Communications, Inc.*, 346 U.S. 86, 90 (1953); *FCC v. Pottsville Broadcasting Co.*, 309 U.S. 134, 137-8 (1940), that the FCC has "expansive powers," *National Broadcasting Co. v. U.S.*, 319 U.S. 190, 218-219 (1943), and that where a potential licensee violates a general policy of the United States he may be denied a license, *Mansfield Journal Co. v. FCC*, 180 F. 2d 28, 33-34 (D.C. Cir., 1950).

Nondiscrimination in employment is of course a national policy of high priority. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000e *et seq.*; Executive Order 11246, 30 Fed. Reg. 12319, Sept. 24, 1965. The Commission could reasonably conclude that violation of that policy by a broadcast licensee does not serve the public convenience, need or interest. Moreover, while there are no cases directly in point, the use of the public domain would appear to confer upon broadcast licensees enough of a "public" character to permit the Commission to require the licensee to follow the constitutionally grounded obligation not to discriminate on the grounds of race, color, or national origin. See, *Burton v. Wilmington*, 365 U.S. 715 (1961).

We are advised that approximately 80% of television licensees and 10-12% of radio licensees employ 25 or more persons. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 now applies to many of those licensees, and by July 2, 1968, will apply to all licensees employing 25 or more persons. See, 701(b), 42 U.S.C. 2000e(b). However, Title VII was not intended to circumscribe the authority of Federal agencies other than the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to regulate employment practices. 110 Cong. Rec. 13650-52 (June 12, 1964); 110 Cong. Rec. 13085 *et seq.* (June 9, 1964). On the contrary, the nondiscrimination requirements of Title VII, like the laws of the more than 25 States which prohibit discrimination by employers having fewer than 25 employees, would appear to reinforce the Commission's authority to prohibit such discrimination, under the settled doctrine that each applicant for a license must be law-abiding. *FCC v. American Broadcasting Co.*, 347 U.S. 284, 289-290n (1954).

While we are not aware of any rules or decisions of other regulatory agencies which deal with nondiscrimination in employment, by licensees, such agencies have been permitted or required to prohibit racial discrimination by those they license or certify. *Boynton v. Virginia*, 364 U.S. 454 (1969), and cases cited; *Discrimination in Operation of Interstate Motor Carriers of Passengers*, 86 ICC (M.C. Cases) 743 (1961); *Hughes Tool*, 147 NLRB 1573 (1964); *Local 12, United Rubber Workers v. NLRB*, 368 F.2d 12 (5th Cir. 1966) cert. den., 36 Law Week 3144 (October 10, 1967). See also, *Colorado Anti-Discrimination Comm. v. Continental Air Lines*, 372 U.S. 714, 723, (1963).

Accordingly, in our view your Commission has authority to promulgate a rule or policy, such as that proposed by the United Church of Christ, which would prohibit racial discrimination in the employment practices of broadcast licensees.

2. You have specifically requested our views on the policy considerations underlying the proposed rule. I have the following comments on that regard. Two policy considerations might be advanced against promulgation of the proposed rule. The first is that approximately 80% of television and 10-12% of the radio licensees are (or will be by July 2, 1968) subject to the nondiscrimination requirements of

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; and that the efforts of the Commission to enforce the proposed rule would duplicate those of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (and the Department of Justice) to enforce Title VII, and would unduly burden and harass the members of the broadcast industry. However, EEOC's primary function is to attempt to conciliate complaints of alleged discrimination. It has no cease and desist power, its investigative resources are very limited, and it has a large backlog of complaints which it has not yet been able to investigate. We have been advised by EEOC that it would welcome adoption of the proposed rule. Similarly, this Department's ability to obtain enforcement of Title VII is limited by the need to prove discrimination and obtain relief on a case by case basis.

Your Commission's authority to inquire into the facts and to act upon license applications and renewals would afford it effective means of obtaining nondiscriminatory practices by broadcast licensees, even though it does not have the staff to make frequent compliance reviews. Thus, in addition to providing non-discrimination coverage to many licensees not presently within the terms of Federal or State statutes, the proposed rule would provide a significant added incentive toward compliance by broadcast licensees with existing provisions of law. Arrangements between your Commission and EEOC should be made to avoid duplication of effort and any unnecessary burden upon broadcast licensees.

A second argument against the proposed rule might be that the Commission should concern itself with broadcasting, and not with matters of racial or other discrimination. In view of the national policy against such discrimination, the critical importance of reducing it as soon as possible, and the responsibility the Commission has to encourage and require the broadcasting industry to serve the public interest, I do not believe that this contention should be given substantial weight.

Because of the enormous impact which television and radio have upon American life, the employment practices of the broadcasting industry have an importance greater than that suggested by the number of its employees. The provision of equal opportunity in employment in that industry could therefore contribute significantly toward reducing and ending discrimination in other industries. For these reasons I consider adoption of the proposed rule, or one embodying the same principles, a positive step which your Commission appears to have ample authority to take.

3. We would urge that any proposed rule, in addition to providing for the Commission's normal sanctions, contain a provision which permits the Commission to refer to the Department of Justice any case in which there is reasonable cause to believe that a licensee is engaged in a pattern or practice of discrimination.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance..

Sincerely,

STEPHEN J. POLLAK,  
Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division.

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GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION,  
NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE,  
Washington, D.C., July 25, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
Chairman, Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities,  
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: This is in reply to identical letters relating to S. 2979 addressed to Dr. Robert H. Bahmer, Archivist of the United States, whom I succeeded this past May, and to Dr. Oliver W. Holmes, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, of which Commission I am Chairman *ex officio*.

The Commission, if I may speak for it first, feels its entire program of promoting documentary publication in American history is of great importance to a better understanding of Negro history and culture. Its views are set forth in some detail in a letter supporting H.R. 12962 which I as Acting Chairman sent on March 20 to the Honorable James H. Scheuer of the House of Representatives. On March 26, after it was learned a similar bill had been introduced in the Senate, I sent a copy of this letter to Senator Scott. As the Senate member of the National Historical Publications Commission you received a copy of this letter too. Neither I nor the Executive Director should, it seems to me, assume to speak further for the Commission, and it will not be meeting again until the latter half of August.

What follows will be an effort to answer the three questions in your letter so far as the National Archives and Records Service is concerned.

1. Inasmuch as records of the Federal Government from its beginning to the present contain much on Negro history and will always represent one of the major sources for its study, it is believed that all present programs for the care and servicing of these records contribute significantly to the understanding and knowledge of Negro history. This would include the appraisal of current records to identify those deserving to be retained permanently, the transfer and accessioning of those selected for retention, the arrangement and proper maintenance of these records, the preparation of descriptive guides to them, and making them available to searchers, both scholars and the general public, directly, or through photocopies and publication.

Records in the National Archives relating to Negro history include those of both houses of Congress having to do with legislation on slavery, civil rights, and other subjects especially affecting the Negro's welfare. They also include those of the Justice Department and the Federal Courts having to do with enforcing all such legislation. They include records relating to the suppression of the slave trade, the colonization of free Negroes, the freeing of the slaves, the records of the Freedmen's Bureau established to assist the newly freed population after the Civil War, records of the Office of Education relating to Negro education, records of the Agriculture Department's Extension Service relating to Negro Extension work, records of special offices in agencies of the New Deal period having to do with welfare such, for example, as the Negro Affairs Office of the National Youth Administration. And, there are records of special studies such as one of Negro land tenure by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. All Federal agencies deal with the Negro as well as with any other element of the Nation's population so that most records relating to Negroes cannot be segregated from other records, but they are there as sources for the historian who first must use them for special monographic treatises before they will be drawn upon for textbooks and popular presentation. Some idea of the rich materials available for the scholar can be gained from *A Guide to Documents in the National Archives: for Negro Studies* compiled in 1947 by Dr. Paul Lewinson for the Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. I am glad to enclose a copy.

2. Although all the above programs do now contribute significantly, they could contribute still more, and sooner, if they were strengthened so that we could move forward more quickly, particularly with the preparation and publication of guides and inventories that would make known what we have and make it more readily available to users. We should have manpower, for instance, that can be specifically assigned to bringing the 1947 *Guide . . . for Negro Studies* up to date and greatly expand its all too brief entries. But special subject-matter guides cannot be prepared quickly and with the confidence until all records are analyzed and described, so that the effort to emphasize Negro history cannot be entirely a separate one.

3. One of the major means by which the National Archives and Records Service disseminates information is through issuance of descriptive inventories and the publication on microfilm of important series of documents among its holdings. Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (see page 8 of the *Guide . . . for Negro Studies*) and microfilm publications to cover the more significant series of these records. The following four microfilm publications will be issued during Fiscal Year 1969: "Selected Series of Records Issued by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees . . . 1865-72;" "Registers and Letters Received by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees . . . 1865-72;" "Records of the Assistant Commissioner . . . for the District of Georgia, 1865-69;" and "Records of the Superintendent of Education . . . for the District of Georgia, 1865-70."

There are a number of other pertinent microfilm publications that have been prepared and others that either are in process or are planned for future issuance. Among those that have been completed are Microcopy No. 160, "Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior Relating to the Suppression of the African Slave Trade and Negro Colonization, 1854-72;" Microcopy No. 205, "Correspondence of the Secretary of the Navy Relating to African Colonization, 1819-44;" and Microcopy No. 589, "Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served With United States Colored Troops." (Copies of pamphlets are enclosed.) The Woodward volumes, referred to on pages 4 and 5 of the *Guide . . . for Negro Studies*, have been reproduced on microfilm as T-823, "The Negro in the Military Service of the United States, 1639-1886." The

24th and 25th Regular Army Infantry Regiments and the 9th and 10th Regular Army Cavalry Regiments were composed of Negro troops. The returns of the 24th Infantry, Dec. 1866-Dec. 1916, and of the 25th Infantry, Jan. 1867-Dec. 1916, have been reproduced on rolls 245 to 261 of Microcopy No. 665, "Returns From the Regular Army Infantry Regiments, June 1821-Dec. 1916." (A pamphlet will be available in about three months.) The returns of the 9th and 10th Cavalry will be reproduced as a part of Microcopy No. 744, "Returns From Regular Army Cavalry Regiments, 1833-1916." This microfilm publication is scheduled for completion during Fiscal Year 1969.

In addition to these specific finding aids to records in its custody, more general guides are also developed to records in the custody of the National Archives or elsewhere available. To bring to light and to acquaint interested American and foreign scholars with the entire broad range of Africa-related archival and manuscript sources, the Ford Foundation awarded a grant to the African Studies Association—the American learned society in the field—for the production of a comprehensive descriptive guide to them. By arrangement with the Association, the National Archives and Records Service, a major custodian of these materials, undertook the compilation of the guide.

It is designed to provide coverage of the Africa-related archives of Government agencies, commercial concerns, religious and missionary groups, and other non-commercial organizations, whether retained by the originating bodies or their successors, or transferred to separate archival and manuscript depositories (such as the National Archives, research and university libraries, and historical societies). The work of compilation is approximately half done, with completion of the guide manuscript scheduled for the spring of 1970. Publication will follow as soon as possible thereafter.

We have not tried above to give more than illustrative examples of information available in the National Archives or disseminated by us. It seems doubtful that any other archival repository or library in the United States would have as much unpublished source material relating to the Negro or more important material than the National Archives. Also under the Archivist of the United States, of course, are the Presidential Libraries and various Federal Records Centers distributed over the country, each of which would have certain additional documentation relating to the Negro's part in American history.

I hope this will meet your present needs, but please let me know if I can answer further questions or if you should wish more detail.

Sincerely,

JAMES B. RHOADS,  
*Archivist of the United States.*

Enclosures.<sup>1</sup>

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS,  
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS,  
*Washington, D.C., July 29, 1968.*

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
U.S. Senate,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: Mr. Roger Stevens has asked me to reply to your letter requesting information on programs administered by the National Endowment for the Arts which relate to Negro history and culture. Mr. Stevens is presently out of the country and will not return until after hearings on S. 2979 are completed.

I hope the following information will be of value as the Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities considers the proposed legislation.

By way of a summary statement let me say first that we do have some projects that bear on increasing public understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture; and that we probably could do more, on the assumption that the additional projects involved genuine artistic endeavors and are not solely a vehicle for disseminating knowledge about Negro history and culture. I would wish to underline this last statement. Our basic objective as defined by statute, is to foster progress in the arts. Dissemination of understanding of Negro history and culture would have to take place in that context.

Over the past three years we have supported a number of projects, which, at least as a by-product of an effort in the arts, may well have served to increase understanding of Negro history and culture. For example:

<sup>1</sup> The enclosures may be found in the files of the subcommittee.

*Westminster Neighborhood Association, Inc., Los Angeles, California.*—Budd Schulberg's Writers' Workshop at Douglass House in the Watts area of Los Angeles (often referred to by its simpler name, "The Watts Writers' Workshop"), has proven an extremely effective program in the discovery of Negro writers. The Endowment has provided the Workshop with two separate matching grants, each in the amount of \$25,000 (total funds—\$50,000). The publication and dissemination of these writers' works of art undoubtedly are serving to equip the public with a much better understanding of Negro culture.

*Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts in Boston.*—The Endowment provided this school, which serves the ghetto areas of the inner city in Boston, with an emergency grant of \$3,500 during fiscal 1967. The school is concerned with the development of Negro artists and places some emphasis on the importance of the immense contributions of Negroes in the past.

*American Theatre of Being in Los Angeles.*—This theatre, founded and directed by the noted Negro actor-director, Frank Silvera, received a grant of \$24,000 to assist in the company's production of works by predominately Negro authors in schools and depressed areas in Los Angeles. It makes it possible for Negro playwrights to secure production of their work concerned with the specific milieu of their race and thus to give greater exposure to Negro history and culture. The Theatre of Being remains one of the few recognized, professional companies in our Country whose work is oriented toward the development of Negro writers, actors, directors and audiences for the theatre.

*Free Southern Theatre.*—The Endowment provided a matching grant of \$7,000 to this New Orleans-based company to support acting and writing workshops. The troupe tours seven months each year in an effort to acquaint audiences with the history of Negro America. It provides a forum for the Negro playwright (see *American Theatre of Being*, above) and assists in the development of new theatre audiences in areas where none previously existed.

*Playwrights Experimental Theatre.*—Matching grants of \$25,000 each were made to five professional resident companies for production of new works. One of these was a dramatization of events in the life of Negro boxing champion, Jack Johnson. The play, "The Great White Hope", was produced by Arena Stage in Washington. It was a highly successful dramatization of an important aspect of American race relations.

*Individual Grants to Choreographers.*—One of the seven choreographers receiving commissioning grants from the Endowment was Alvin Ailey, whose artistic materials are American Negro dance forms. He is one of the major contemporary dance artists, and his company tours both in this country and abroad.

*Coordinated Residency Touring for Several Modern Dance Companies.*—This project is directed towards giving the American public a broader and deeper view of American dance. The program underwrites up to one-third the cost of the company fees for local sponsors which book two or more companies for a minimum period of a half week each. In this way, the companies provide a variety of dance services in addition to the usual performances. Among the companies is Donald McKayle's Dance Company with a repertory of some of the finest works based on American Negro dance and musical forms.

*Inner City Summer Arts Program.*—This program, developed in conjunction with the President's Committee on Youth Opportunity and the Mayors of 16 large cities, is designed to foster the development of the arts in their inner cities. It is intended to do so principally through support of workshops in the various art forms under professional direction. The hope is to identify and display inner city talent especially among young people. In several cities, the cities have requested support for projects which stress and display the Afro-American artistic cultural heritage.

Each of the 16 cities involved in this program has been provided with a \$25,000 grant to finance at least one phase of a Summer program for the inner city. This \$25,000 will be matched, in turn, by \$50,000 from local funds.

In a general sense the projects in each city will undoubtedly aid in the dissemination of an increased understanding of Negro artistic culture. But there will also be some specific effects.

According to the plans submitted to us by the cities, our funds will help support projects involving Negro culture in a number of places. For example, the Boston Summer Workshop Program includes among its programs an Afro-American Theatre Workshop. This may well lead to an increased understanding of the Afro-American heritage. In Buffalo New York, six urban art centers have been stressing Negro culture. In Detroit, Michigan, several of the workshops will

involve activities in the field of Afro-American history and culture. In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, a workshop in creative writing emphasizing Afro-American history has been established. In addition a dramatic workshop which uses as its focal point cultural themes from Afro-American history is underway.

*Other Projects.*—There are other current projects which we might also cite, as for example, our project to provide poets in residence in developing colleges. But these have quite an indirect relationship to the problem of dissemination, although they do promote the development of Negro artists.

Turning to your question of programs which have a potential for increasing understanding of Negro history and culture, we do have program areas where we may be able to do more and where we have done little to date. Thus in the area of music, we have established a special Jazz panel to explore the development of programs in that area. Possibly there are things we could do in the area of the visual arts. It is more difficult to conceive of what could be done in our architectural programs, however. Our grants-to-States program is another area where some things are being done, but where more might be, particularly if the States will initiate projects.

However, I do want to repeat my emphasis on our primary mission of fostering the arts. Moreover, the major reduction in our appropriation for F.Y. 1969 put us in the position of necessarily having to devote our limited funds to supporting those projects which contribute most directly to this mission. Nevertheless, we have done some things, and we believe some good things, to date. With care in selection of projects we may be able to do more in the future and in program areas not now touched.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM B. CANNON, *Deputy Chairman.*

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES,  
Washington, D.C., July 17, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, Committee on Labor  
and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: In your letter of July 11, you requested answers to three questions regarding the role of the National Endowment for the Humanities in creating a better understanding of Negro history and culture. I shall respond to the questions in the order they were presented.

*I. Programs Which Contribute Significantly to a Better Understanding and Knowledge of Negro History and Culture.*

A. Professor August Meier, author of *Time of Trial, Time of Hope, The Negro in America* and other books about the history of the Negro, has pointed out, "too little (of current interest in Negro history) is grounded in thorough knowledge of the black community or its history." The Endowment recognizes the importance of creating a body of sound books and articles that ask and answer basic questions about the life of the Negro and do so with objectivity and sensitivity. In fiscal 1967 and fiscal 1968, the Endowment's first two full years, more than \$330,000 in fellowships and research awards was provided for work related to Negro history and culture. Indeed, one can trace the history of the Negro in America, from the slave trade to the present, by reading the topics under study by fellowship winners in just one of the Endowment's fellowship programs—the program for young humanists within five years after receiving their doctorates; the topics include, for example, "A History of the Negro Trade in Colonial America;" "Southern Negroes, 1861-77;" "Antislavery Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP;" and "A Chapter in the History of Negro Thought" (which focuses on the controversies taking place within the Negro community in the post-World War II period).

B. Equally significant are the Endowment's efforts to improve America's understanding of Negro history and culture through the agency's public and education programs. Through these programs, the Endowment has provided close to \$590,000 in grants aimed at the disadvantaged, primarily the Negro. Much of that was spent directly on improving our knowledge of the history of the Negro in America. One way the Endowment has sought to improve this country's knowledge of the role of the Negro is by creating a body of teachers fully capable of disseminating Negro history and culture to students at all levels. A grant has gone to the Johns Hopkins University Center for Southern History; one effect of the grant will be to enrich the Institute's program for retraining high

school teachers in Negro history. Similarly, a grant to Miles College, a Negro institution in Birmingham, Alabama, is designed to increase the knowledge of teachers of Negro culture at the college level, and a \$70,000 grant will allow seven colleges to conduct summer workshops on Negro history and culture. Workshops will cover different topics; for example, the workshop at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, will stress literature, criticism, and the visual arts in the context of American Negro culture. Approximately 500 college teachers from throughout the country are expected to benefit from these seven workshops.

An equally strong emphasis of the public and education programs of the Endowment has been the encouragement of new and different methods of preserving and disseminating the culture of Negro Americans—through museums and the communications media, as well as educational institutions. Thus a grant of \$20,000 to the Frederick Douglass Institute and Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C., a grant which incidentally brought ten times that in private support for the museum, encouraged one form of dissemination. A grant to the Great Lakes Colleges Association resulted in a conference which identified Negro artists and art resources in the communities of the colleges comprising the GLCA consortium, thus encouraging a different kind of dissemination of Negro culture—person-to-person understanding. And with mass dissemination in mind, one ETV station has received support in its plans for a series of programs on the Negro's search for identity through art, while, in an experimental effort, a sociologist from a state university will provide expert knowledge on Negro culture to two daily newspapers with state-wide coverage.

*II. Programs Which Do Not Presently Significantly Contribute to Understanding and Knowledge of Negro History and Culture, but Which are Potentially Capable of Such Contributions Without Legislative Amendment.*

All Endowment programs are contributing to an understanding of the Negro American and his past. The Endowment needs larger appropriations more than new legislation, to increase the effectiveness of the agency in meeting the country's need for improved understanding of Negro culture and history.

In addition, I might mention that many Endowment grants have provided the agency with the kinds of experience which make possible intelligent approaches to the dissemination of Negro history materials at all levels once the agency receives sufficient funds. For example, the Endowment is a sponsor of the Children's Television Workshop, a National Educational Television pre-school series aimed at helping disadvantaged children. At the elementary school level, a grant to Sidwell Friends School enabled pupils in grades one through three of a predominantly Negro D.C. elementary school to spend part of the Summer of 1967 at Sidwell engaging in humanistic activities designed to improve their academic abilities. This project will be supported again this summer. A book exposure project organized by the Council for Public Schools in Boston and designed to interest children from impoverished homes in reading and owning books, is also Endowment supported. Both the Sidwell project and the project of the Council for Public Schools are examples of the kinds of projects which offer an exceptional opportunity to disseminate Negro culture and history and to serve as models for similar elementary school projects throughout the country. Similar Endowment-supported projects exist at the secondary school level and at the college level. In New York City, for example, the Endowment has made a grant to Hunter College High School for formulation of a new senior high school curriculum responsive to the needs of the city's and the school's multi-racial population, and a grant to the Teachers and Writers Collaborative to train teachers more effectively and to produce better curriculum materials for inner city schools. Projects like these two New York projects offer opportunities for the dissemination of Negro history and culture which, given the Endowment's modest budget, still remain to be fully explored.

*III. Effort to Insure that Negro Contribution to American Life, Both Past and Present, Is Reflected in Information Disseminated by the Agency and in Work of Grantees Supported by the Agency.*

The Endowment, in all three of its operating divisions, is making a concerted effort to encourage an understanding of the Negro's culture past and present—literally from the culture of his African past to the present culture of the black ghettos and which dot our cities. Thus, for example, DePauw College has received funds to complete a slide collection in African art which will be a useful teaching resource in explaining the Negro heritage, and, at the other end of the time spectrum, the Endowment is supporting Budd Schulberg's writer's workshop in Watts, center of contemporary Negro artistic development.

To put this effort in dollar terms, in fiscal 1967 and 1968, with a total budget of only \$8,000,000, the Endowment provided approximately \$1,000,000 in grants directed toward the disadvantaged, primarily the Negro, of which approximately \$300,000 was spent specifically upon the dissemination of materials telling the story of the Negro's past and his culture. It is likely that the Endowment's role in disseminating Negro history will be strengthened in fiscal 1969. The Humanities Council, at its May 1968 meeting, recommended that the Endowment encourage proposals which focus on research, writing and educational and public projects that spotlight urban and minority matters. A major focus is the American Negro—his past, his present, his problems—with attention also to be devoted to the American Indian and the Mexican-American. This policy has already produced a new Endowment program addressed to the development of the humanities faculties at Negro colleges, a program that may have, as a side effect, the improvement in our knowledge of Negro history through additional faculty research and writing.

Please let me know if the Endowment can be of any further help to you as you prepare to consider legislation to establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

Sincerely,

BARNABY C. KEENEY, *Chairman.*

NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION,  
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR,  
Washington, D.C., August 8, 1968.

Hon. CLAIRBORNE PELL,  
*Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, Committee on Labor  
and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR PELL: This is in reply to your letter of July 11 requesting information on National Science Foundation programs relevant to the study of Negro history and culture. I am pleased to review our activities in this light, although, as you are aware, the Foundation's primary activities are in research and education in the sciences. Thus most of the activities with which the proposed Commission would be concerned do not fall within the Foundation's programs.

We do, however, assist indirectly in the effort by supporting some of the research which provides basic data and findings used in education programs concerning Negro history and culture. Through a program of basic research grants in the social sciences, NSF has supported a substantial amount of research on Africa and on Negro culture in the United States. Research in Africa has included a broad range of time and subject: archaeological study of pre-historical cultures and early man; social and cultural studies of indigenous populations, both relatively untouched groups such as bushmen, and also groups experiencing the effects of urbanization and the processes of culture change. We have supported also comparative social psychological studies of individual learning and problem-solving, involving African subjects. Geographical and linguistic research also has been supported in Africa. All these studies have, with one exception, been performed by U.S. social scientists, often in collaboration with African scientists. This has resulted not only in first-hand field experience for Africanists, but also in increasing the number of other trained American students and specialists on Africa.

Research specifically on the Negro in the United States that has been assisted by the Foundation include demographic studies of urban-rural mobility and studies of social participation. Thus findings from such studies of American society and culture have been of importance in a number of applications for people working in community action programs, social welfare efforts and the like.

In education, the Foundation administers no programs which have as their specific purpose contributing to a better understanding of Negro history and culture. However, a project supported by a recent Foundation grant to the American Sociological Association for the development of "Sociological Resources for the Social Studies" to be used in secondary schools does contribute to this subject. Among the teaching units being prepared under this grant are two which have relevance to the Negro in America:

1. "Leadership in American Society: A Case Study of Negro Leadership"
2. "The Incidence and Effects of Poverty in the United States"

NSF-supported training and other educational activities in the social sciences, while not designated for this specific purpose, are potentially capable of con-

tributing significantly to the understanding and knowledge of Negro history and culture. For example, in fiscal year 1968 the Foundation awarded 441 fellowships in the social sciences, including such specialties as anthropology, political science, sociology and psychology. The Foundation also supports training opportunities for teachers of the social sciences in both secondary schools and colleges through institutes, conferences and seminars as well as special training in anthropology, sociology and psychology for selected secondary school students. This latter type of training project, created to enhance the educational development of high-ability students, offers course work beyond that presented in an average high school course. In addition, the Foundation supports a small number of projects aimed at helping school systems put new curriculum materials in the social sciences to effective use, such as the Foundation-supported Anthropology Curriculum Study Project (high school) and the Social Science Program (elementary school) materials.

The Foundation already has ample authority to support certain types of work which will contribute meaningfully to the understanding of Negro history and culture within our mission to support research and education in the sciences. Therefore, we do not consider that legislative amendment is necessary insofar as the Foundation is concerned.

Other than those cases involving the development of teaching units and curriculum materials referred to above, the Foundation has not attempted specifically to stress any particular ethnic contribution to American life in information disseminated by the agency. The dissemination of results of Foundation-supported research is usually made through the publication of the results by the investigators in scientific journals.

I will be pleased to provide you with such additional information as you may deem helpful in this connection.

Sincerely yours,

LELAND J. HAWORTH, *Director.*

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,  
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY,  
Washington, D.C., September 19, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,

*Chairman, Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for calling to our attention S. 2979, a bill "To establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture; to conduct a study of all proposals to research, document, compile, preserve, and disseminate data on Negro history and culture; to recommend such legislative enactments as may be required to provide for the integration of such data into the mainstream of American education and life; and for other purposes." We are pleased to assist your Subcommittee in its efforts to obtain information about programs which presently attempt to provide, or could potentially provide, a better understanding of Negro history and culture.

As you know, the Office of Economic Opportunity is concerned with the problems of the poor and disadvantaged of all races. We do, however, recognize that a substantial portion of low-income families are members of minority groups whose history and contributions to American society have been neglected or misunderstood. Thus, although we have no distinct program designed to teach Negro history and culture, several of our programs give attention to the contributions of Negro Americans and others could, if Congress so authorized, incorporate this on a systematic basis.

Educationally oriented programs within the Office of Economic Opportunity include Head Start, Upward Bound, and Job Corps. Head Start is, of course, for preschool children, for whom a structured study of Negro history and culture would be too advanced. Many leadership training classes for Head Start instructors do, however, include a study of Negro heritage.

The Upward Bound program, which encourages college application and success on the part of underprivileged students, is administered by 295 academic institutions, each of which selects the specific items to be included in its curriculum. A significant number of these have chosen to teach Negro history either as a separate course or as part of a comprehensive American history course.

Courses in Negro heritage have become more numerous recently at Job Corps Centers, many started in response to requests of Corpsmembers themselves. At

least one such course, at the Huntington, West Virginia, Women's Center, has led to interest on the part of local secondary school and college educators in beginning similar classes in their own school systems. In addition, all Job Corps Conservation Center libraries contain the 5-volume International Library of Negro Life and History, consisting of the following books: *Negro Americans in the Civil War*, *The Negro in Music and Art*, *The History of the Negro* and *Historical Negro Biographies*. A recent Department of Labor pamphlet, "Success," portraying Negro Americans who have achieved high positions in government and private industry, has also been used by some centers.

Apart from these specific education programs funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, some local community action agencies have undertaken to develop education curricula in Negro heritage for their communities, while several of our research and pilot programs, such as the Philadelphia Tutorial Program, have contained experimental Negro history and culture training. Some VISTA workers have included such courses in their tutorial programs in ghetto areas. VISTA is also considering the establishment of a pilot project in which a specially trained team of black and white Volunteers would, in conjunction with one or more of the universities in the Washington area, work with civic organizations, church groups, and other private organizations in both the inner city and the white community to establish and participate in Negro history and culture programs. This program is still in the germinal stage, but VISTA hopes that if it can be successfully launched it can serve as a model for similar efforts by foundations and other organizations. Our agency has also participated jointly with other Federal agencies in funding a grant to the Institute for Services to Education, composed of 13 predominantly Negro Southern colleges, to develop an "integrated history" curriculum.

All the programs mentioned above could potentially increase their activity in contributing to the knowledge and understanding of Negro history and culture. Because of the decentralized nature of the antipoverty program, however, changes in curricula of programs administered by grantee and delegate agencies often come through the impetus of these agencies and the communities they serve. As the demand increases for courses in Negro heritage, those working on the community level will undoubtedly respond positively.

We hope that this information will aid your committee in considering S. 2979.  
Sincerely,

BERTRAND M. HARDING,  
*Acting Director.*

AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION,  
COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG,  
Williamsburg, Va., July 22, 1968.

Hon. CLAIBORNE PELL,  
*U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR PELL: I wish it were possible to say that the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission had already begun its work of planning and recommending to the Congress a coordinated comprehensive bicentennial program, one of the aspects of which would surely have to do with a better understanding of Negro history and culture, particularly as it relates to the Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary years. You are probably aware of the fact, however, that it was not until last month that funds were appropriated for the establishment of a small administrative staff to support the work of the Commission, and the activities of the Commission thus far have amounted only to the most preliminary planning. No specific projects or programs have yet been undertaken or decided upon.

This is in response to your inquiry of July 11, 1968.

Sincerely,

CARLISLE H. HUMELSINE.









14

*Conc**Chairman on  
Black Patriotic  
Comm. to be  
done* 27

1 Mr. Scheuer. Well, we know how they love federal guide-  
2 lines.

3 Senator Pell. I thank you very much indeed. I congratu-  
4 late you on your son, whom I see looking at you with great  
5 pride.

6 Professor Katz. Thank you.

7 Senator Pell. Our next witness is Mr. Julius Hobson, of  
8 Washington, D. C.

9 STATEMENT OF JULIUS HOBSON

10 COMMUNITY LEADER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

11 Mr. Hobson. My name is Julius Hobson. I want to thank  
12 you very much for an opportunity to appear before this com-  
13 mittee.

14 I also want to say in opening that I support the idea  
15 of a commission and it does not make any difference what you  
16 call it, as long as it is a commission to deal with what we have  
17 here to deal with. The vogue is black this year and preferably  
18 in the black community, we like to use the word "black." I am  
19 still not too unhappy with the word "Negro." We have even  
20 started among us to take some pride in the word "nigger,"  
21 because it has a special meaning. So it does not matter what  
22 you call it, what does matter is what you are trying to do in  
23 this bill which I support one hundred percent.

24 I would like to say, and I am sure you are all familiar  
25 with Alexander Pope's, "Essay on Man," which he says, "know thyself,  
*thou*  
presume not god to scan,



1 that, the proper study of mankind is man. Among black men in  
 2 the United States, we have in recent years particularly,  
 3 attempted to know then ourselves. This whole thrust of the  
 4 black power movement, this whole up-spring of book stores in  
 5 the black community such as Drum and Speer on upper 14th Street,  
 6 in Washington  
 7 and the book store on the corner of 7th Avenue and 125th Street  
 8 in Harlem and the bookstore in Chicago on South Parkway, all  
 9 contain documents ~~in an attempt on the part of~~ <sup>designed to enable</sup> the black com-  
 10 munity to familiarize ~~themselves~~ <sup>themselves</sup> with black history. I gradu-  
 11 ated from Industrial High School in Birmingham, Alabama, and  
 12 my heroes were Robert E. Lee and Booker T. Washington. I come  
 13 to find that among the Negroes in Washington, Booker T. Wash-  
 14 ington was a prize Uncle Tom. Robert E. Lee was a general  
 15 of the Confederacy. We were not even familiar with the white  
 16 heroes of the north, let alone the black ones.

17 The question that looms is not whether you have a com-  
 18 <sup>Black</sup> mission on ~~Negro~~ history and culture but a commission in which  
 19 you take the history and textbooks which have been written  
 20 in the United States and clean them up because they are a col-  
 21 lection and a tissue of lies if they leave out black history.  
 22 I think it is a greater question of whether or not we could not  
 23 really have greater communication between us if we have history  
 24 books which <sup>relate</sup> ~~integrate~~ what black Americans have done in the  
 25 building of this country. I do not think there is any question  
 about it. I certainly went almost through college before I



1 became aware of and concerned about black history.

2 I remember when I went into the ~~Air Force~~ in World War II,  
3 I was very much ashamed of myself because I happened to come  
4 from Alabama and having been put in a class with a group of  
5 white men, I really had nothing to offer and I was ashamed of  
6 everything that I had been and everything I had done, because  
7 I had not been exposed to any black history. I did not think  
8 Negroes could do anything but cook. There were a few profes-  
9 sors of the third grade among us and preachers. But there  
10 was nothing more. That is the story of our clinging to Joe  
11 Louis as a hero, for our clinging to Jackie Robinson. It was  
12 a search for identity.

13 I would like to say to you now <sup>that</sup> I believe we have found  
14 part of that answer. I think the black power thrust is it. It  
15 is a pride in blackness, an attempt in the black community among  
16 those who have educated discipline and among those educating  
17 themselves to find out about Negro history. That is why I find  
18 in these bookstores documents such as "The American Negro Slave  
19 Revolts," a document of American Negro history in the United  
20 States by Herbert Apthecker, whom I consider one of the fore-  
21 most authorities on black history in the United States, if not  
22 the foremost authority.

23 I am glad we are going to have a possibility of getting  
24 such legislation. I hope that the less popular or the less  
25 palatable members of the black community, the black power



advocates like Stokeley Carmichael and myself, will have an opportunity to participate in this. Believe it or not, we do have some ideas. I think that the Urban League <sup>and</sup> the NAACP approach is very good, but I think there is another approach now which pervades the community and which is expressive of the attitude of black people in the United States. I think in the setting up of this kind of commission, these people should be included, because there is no question about it, they do have influence in the community and they do have something to contribute.

If there is anything at all that we can do in our meager way, we will be very glad to do it and more speed to this. We support it one hundred percent and we think that there is room in the United States for everybody to do everything.

I do not recognize indigenous black men over indigenous white men. I think everybody is indigenous and you do not have to speak Swahili and have ~~right~~ rhythm in order to appreciate what is going on in the United States among black people or white people. I think that we formalize, some of us, on the basis of our common interest and struggle and not on the basis of the way we look. So that if we have some white professors among us, some white congressmen, white senators, or white anything that want to jump into the mainstream and help to clean up what we know has been an inadequate history of the United States because it has left out black people, then



1 I think the more the merrier.

2 Thank you.

3 Senator Pell. Thank you very much for a good and strong  
4 statement.

5 A couple of specific questions:

6 One, as far as cleaning up the history books goes, I  
7 was struck with the text of Professor Katz in trying to take the  
8 history books and find the errors and inadequacies and work  
9 them over. Do you think this procedure would do the job or  
10 do you think textbooks have to be written completely over?

11 Mr. Hobson. I think I have read some history. I am not  
12 an authority on history, not even Negro history. But I cer-  
13 tainly was forced to read history, as we all were. That bit  
14 that I was forced to read was completely void of any contribu-  
15 tion by black people at all. I think now that I have gone out  
16 after school and read some books and studied, I know that this  
17 history was incomplete. And I think in the interest of truth,  
18 which is a larger question, and in the interest of better com-  
19 munications for black as well as white children in the United  
20 States, it is incumbent for us to include in all the history  
21 books the true history of the United States, in chronological  
22 or historical or any other order. Any history book that  
23 does not put that down does not communicate and is not the  
24 complete truth. I think this commission could serve to do that.

25 I think the bottom part of your paragraph, which says



1 to move such data into the mainstream of American life, is the  
2 main objective, not necessarily to set up over here on the  
3 side a collection of black history per se, but an attempt to  
4 put that black history in perspective. Because over on the  
5 side, it is really in a vacuum. I think it has to be put in  
6 perspective, as the professor did. I learned something here  
7 today that I did not know before. Cowboys happen to be some  
8 of my heros. I enjoy the blood and thunder of Westerns. I am  
9 glad to know that some of the black men contributed to this.  
10 I think it should be integrated into American history. I do  
11 not think it should be a separate collection.

12 Senator Pell. As a member of the National Historical  
13 Documents Commission, and I set up some of the meetings of it,  
14 I think one weakness we have is I do not recall doing much  
15 work in this connection. This is a point I would like to see  
16 remedied and I would try to do so as one member of that com-  
17 mission.

18 The fact that you are here -- I am glad and I would hope  
19 that if we are successful in getting this commission set up,  
20 we will retain your interest and that of the people who are  
21 militant and strong and believe, as you do, in the importance  
22 of rectification of injustice and keep their interest up in  
23 this matter.

24 Do you have any views as to whether this work could be  
25 equally well done after the commission is liquidated by the



1 Endowment for the Humanities to carry on and do this job ade-  
2 quately? In my view, it probably could, but I am interested in  
3 your view.

4 Mr. Hobson. I believe this is such a tremendous task  
5 at this point in time that it is necessary that it be kicked  
6 off by someone with resources who can afford to do it. I do  
7 not know how long it will take before it can be on its way  
8 and taken over by private groups. There are a number of private  
9 groups engaged in efforts to do this, but it is not coordinated  
10 effort. I think with leadership coming from the Federal Govern-  
11 ment, the rest might fall in and take heed and there may be some  
12 coordination of it. But I am not sure. I do not know enough  
13 about it to be absolutely certain. But I do know there are  
14 pitiful attempts all over the United States at this time for  
15 black people to make history and to make such collections as  
16 you are talking about.

17 Senator Pell. Right. They have already done a fine  
18 job in this regard and I look to them as conceivably being  
19 the permanent vehicle to do this.

20 If you had to make a choice between a Commission on Negro  
21 History and Culture or a Commission on Black History and Cul-  
22 ture, which would you choose?

23 Mr. Hobson. I would choose black history and culture.

24 Senator Pell. Mr. Scheuer?

25 Mr. Scheuer. Mr. Hobson, I think you have told us how it



1 really is and I welcome your testimony. I welcome the support,  
2 and I hope you won't consider this a pejorative phrase, of  
3 responsible militants like yourself.

4 Mr. Hobson. I think that is damaging.

5 Thank you.

6 Mr. Scheuer. I suppose the characterization, responsible  
7 militant, could be used against you in some circles.

8 Mr. Hobson. Some circles, yes.

9 Mr. Scheuer. I hope it will not happen. We do welcome  
10 your testimony.

11 We did have one critical witness on the House side. That  
12 was a white who felt the on-going grass roots efforts, the  
13 pitiful attempts as you characterize them, to do this job at  
14 the local level would suffer during the year that a commission  
15 might be working, that they would have difficulty raising  
16 funds, getting volunteers. He also felt that the Federal  
17 Government, on the basis of its past performance, could not be  
18 trusted to deal even-handedly and fairly and thoughtfully  
19 and creatively with this problem and he felt it was a "private  
20 affair," this problem of identity and image was a private  
21 affair which the Negro community had to handle with its own  
22 leadership and within the confines of the Negro community  
23 without any outside interference from whites.

24 Do you disagree or agree with this criticism?

25 Mr. Hobson. There are certain questions which come up in



1 the black community which have to be dealt with by black men.  
2 But I happen to be one black power advocate that does not go  
3 along with the idea that we can do it all by ourselves. I  
4 happen to know some Americans who are revolutionary who are  
5 interested in change, some inside government, some outside  
6 government. I have to identify those people on the basis of  
7 their records and the history of their struggles. I think  
8 that these men meanwhile who say this, but I think that they  
9 may not grasp the gravity and the size of such a problem and  
10 they may not realize even the problem of coordination.

11 So I would say as I said in the beginning here, that  
12 everybody who wants to make a contribution to bringing about  
13 the truth and justice, by all means, let them do it. I think  
14 there is room here for everybody.

15 We have some doctrinaire white liberals and we have some  
16 pasteurized Negroes who are in this, some because they have  
17 guilt feelings and others because they want jobs and so on.  
18 I think there is a danger that if you turn this job over to  
19 that kind of individual, the people, the black power people  
20 and the people in the community will fall away, because it  
21 will be the same old tableau or a variation on the same old  
22 theme. But I see no reason why a group like this in all  
23 honesty could not try to integrate our history into American  
24 history and do it on an honest basis. That is not even a  
25 pertinent question, as far as I see it.

Thursday night

It is now 10:30 P.M. and the sun has just gone down. The sky is very dark and the stars are visible. The moon is full and bright, casting a soft glow over the landscape. The air is cool and refreshing, with a slight breeze. The trees are swaying gently in the wind. The sound of crickets and other insects can be heard in the distance. The overall atmosphere is peaceful and serene. The sky is filled with stars, and the moon is bright. The landscape is dark, but the stars provide a sense of depth and wonder. The sound of the wind and the rustling of leaves adds to the tranquility of the scene. The overall impression is one of a quiet, peaceful night in the countryside.

(1) 1

2 Senator Pell. Yes, in other words, perhaps a commission  
3 that would funnel into the Endowment on the humanities, to have  
4 it take the responsibility. One of the things that always con-  
5 cerns me is the setting up of new groups that report directly  
6 to the President, this proliferation of reporting agencies. I  
7 wonder if the Endowment on the humanities, which has done a  
8 really fine job -- as I stated earlier, I put the statement to  
9 this effect in the record a couple of days ago -- if they could  
10 undertake also this responsibility. I thought if you do not  
11 have an opinion on it now, maybe you can turn it over in your  
12 mind, because you and I are on the respective committees in  
13 the House and Senate that have oversight on this group and we  
14 might be able to help the program along as well. It is a  
thought.

15 Mr. Scheuer. I would like to reserve judgment on that  
16 one, Senator, and discuss it with you.

17 Senator Pell. I notice you use the words, "Negro history  
18 and culture." Yet I also notice that amongst the blacks in  
19 this country, they prefer the word "black." Should it be  
20 "black history and culture" or "Negro history and culture"?  
21 I am just wondering myself if this word would not be better.

22 Mr. Scheuer. It might very well in the context of the  
23 stated preferences of the leaders of the black community, if  
24 that be so.

25 Senator Pell. I thought I might ask some of our witnesses

